

**FROM PERIPHERY TO PARTNERSHIP:
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF BAPTISTS
IN HONG KONG WITH THE
COLONIAL GOVERNMENT IN THE POST-WORLD WAR II ERA**

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**For Donna,
my wife,
whose companionship and sacrifice
contribute to our
faithful response to
the divine calling from
our Lord Jesus Christ**

ABSTRACT

Baptists in Hong Kong, originally a peripheral denomination before the World War II, had become the largest Protestant community by the time of the handover of the colony to China in July 1997. This study aims to narrate and explicate the formation of the church-state practice of Baptists in Hong Kong in the period of 1949 to 1984. The thesis is focused on the question of the extent to which the British colonial policy contributed to the rise of the Baptist community in Hong Kong. The thesis will uncover the roots of the British colonial strategy in the post-World War II era and how the Baptist denomination happened to be part of the scheme. The thesis will also attempt to account for the formation of the Baptist church-state practice. The thesis finally will employ John Howard Yoder's criticism of Constantinianism to critique the Baptist church-state practice in the post-World War II period, and the core concepts of Yoder's Jeremianic model will serve as an alternative of the Baptist church-state practice in the post-colonial era.

The study will be based upon a theological and empirical research. The socio-political- ecclesiological context of Hong Kong in the post-World War II period and the British colonial policy in the territory will be scrutinised. The uniqueness of Baptist polity that has led to the emergence of the Baptist lay-leaders and the interactions between the laity and the pastors on the issue of Baptist educational institutions accepting the government subsidy, embodying the formalisation of the church-state practice, will be examined. The rationale behind the Baptist leaders' willingness to become a partner with the government will be explored, by investigating the patron-client relationship between the colonial government and Baptists and *kuan-hsi* (network), a prominent feature of the Chinese cultural heritage.

The practice of Baptist worship service will be investigated as it is regarded as the principal factor of the formation of spirituality. I will suggest that pietistic individualism focusing on personal religious and spiritual experience contributes to a problematic church-world dichotomy in the minds of Chinese Christians. A review of Chinese theology in the first half of the twentieth century will disclose a solid heritage of pietism among Chinese Christians. The factor of "state control of religion" in Chinese culture fosters and enhances their uncritical attitude toward government. Additionally, order and contents of Baptist worship service have also been shaped by the pietistic tradition so that sermons in worship mainly focus on such

topics as personal relationship with God as deepened through Bible reading, prayers, fellowship, sin, etc.

The existing models explicating Hong Kong's church-state situation offered by Hong Kong local scholars will be analysed. A literature review of the discourse on church-world relations by the post-World War II theologians in the West, including Oliver O'Donovan, Stanley Hauerwas, and John Howard Yoder, will be introduced. Yoder's model will be considered as a better one among them, and its strengths as well as its applicability will be examined. "Effectiveness" and "faithfulness," two key features of Yoder's Jeremianic model, will be singled out as the main criteria to expound the church-state practice of Baptists in Hong Kong. The thesis will also explore the question of the extent to which the church-state model adopted by Baptists in Hong Kong relied on a Constantinian model which in the post-colonial era is now shown to be problematic, and the suggested solutions to the dilemma of Baptists will be offered. The practice of "the church as a worshipping community" will lead Baptists to a faithful church-state practice in the post-colonial era. The thesis will conclude with an examination of the Jeremianic model of church-state relations in dialogue with Yoder's political theology. At the end of the thesis, it will be pointed out that the Home Church in China after 1949 has been the most rapid-growing group within the Christian community despite acute persecutions by the Communist government. This example will serve as a model of church-state practice for Baptists in the present day Hong Kong – the city that has taken on a new configuration with increasing strong presence of Mainland China's political and ideological influence.

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INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Area of Interest in Research

While the handover of the sovereignty of Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China (PRC) was drawing near, this tiny but significant territory, regarded as one of the world's most fascinating curiosities in commercial and financial achievement, became the global focus of the decade. Everybody was looking forward to seeing what would happen after July 1, 1997. It has been after the handover, however, that the process of change began to take place. The political structure has changed. Not only has the nationality of the people changed but also their mentality and loyalty. Everything is in a state of flux. Inevitably the relationship between the Church and the government has changed as well.

Just as Hong Kong has been in transition from a British colony to a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the PRC, the church in Hong Kong has also been changing from being a colonial church to a SAR church. A Chinese proverb says, "*Yi Ye Zhi Qiu*," meaning that a falling leaf signals the coming of autumn. There are indeed some signs of this change that have appeared since the handover. First, Tung Chee-hwa, the first Chief Executive of the SAR, is famous for his belief in Confucianism and Buddhism. Second, beginning in 1999, Buddha's Birthday Holiday celebrated on May 22, was made an official observance by the passage of the Holidays (Amendment) Bill 1998 in the Legislative Council on September 9, 1998.¹ Third, the protocol list of the Hong Kong Government was revised. Before the handover, the Anglican Bishop and the Roman Catholic Bishop had been traditionally

¹ "Government Confirms General Holidays for 1999," in Daily Information Bulletin, HKSAR of the PRC; English; available from <http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/199809/10/0910184.htm>; Internet; accessed 18 September 2003.

The backdrop of this incident was the government proposal to add two more general holidays, Labor Day (May 1) and the Buddha's Birthday (May 22), which means two of the existing general holidays needed to be deleted in order to cap the total number of general holidays (other than Sundays) at seventeen days in a year. The proposed list of deletions was: Good Friday; the Day after Good Friday; Easter Monday; Sino-Japanese War Victory Day (third Monday in August); October 2 and the first weekday after Christmas Day (Boxing Day). A widely accepted speculation is that the SAR government originally intended to replace one of the Easter holidays by the Buddha's birthday as an initial step to dilute the church-state relationship established in the colonial era. "Information Paper for the Provisional Legislative Council Panel on Manpower," in Records of Former Councils, The Legislative Council, HKSAR of the PRC; English; available from <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr97-98/english/panels/mp/papers/mp22124b.htm>; Internet; accessed 11 September 2003.

placed in the fourth highest position, just behind the Commander of the British armed forces, the Chief Secretary and the Chief Justice.² After the handover, the two bishops' place was dropped to the eleventh position.³ Fourth, after the handover, Buddhist and Taoist temples have become authorised venues for weddings in addition to the Marriage Registries and churches.⁴ These are subtle but concrete signs demonstrating that the church-state relationship in Hong Kong is in the midst of change.

It is reasonable to predict that the privileges enjoyed by the colonial church for the past century will soon fade away. The reality is that the SAR church is now dealing with the SAR government, which is under the sovereignty of an atheistic regime. Thus the anxiety felt by Christians as to the future of the church-state relationship in Hong Kong should not be considered either exaggerated or unjustified. While many local Christian leaders, pastors, and theologians are committed to the construction of a new model for the SAR church in Hong Kong, a Chinese proverb says, "*Wen Gu Zhi Xing*," meaning that revision must be prior to the exploration of novelty; that is, we should always learn new things from the old. This proverb supports the need to reflect on the colonial church in Hong Kong before constructing a new church-state model. In fact, a proper understanding of the issue is the foundation for exploring a proper Baptist church-state model in the new era after 1997.

As an Asian Baptist, I am deeply impressed by the theology of John Howard Yoder, an American theologian who seems immune to the dominant view of European-American centred Christianity⁵ and who appears to be a Baptist voice from within the Mennonite tradition. According to James McClendon, a Baptist theologian, Yoder characterizes "his theological work not as Mennonite (though he retained his connection with his forebears' church), but as a radical contribution to catholic (small c)

² Kwok Nai-wang, *A Church in Transition* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Christian Institute, 1997), 8.

³ Kwok Nai-wang, *Hong Kong Church Faces A New Millenium* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Christian Institute, 1998), 141.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ James McClendon explains that Yoder "rejects the dominant developmental view of church history and tradition which holds that whatever 'the whole church' (really, European Christianity) has by now adopted must have been God's own plan. Clearly, Yoder's ethics is deeply critical of modern Christianity and its culture, yet his criticisms are themselves historical ones, depending strongly on the baptist vision of certain sixteenth-century Reformers as well as on biblical insights." James William McClendon, Jr., *Ethics: Systematic Theology, Vol. 1* (Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon, 1986), 75.

Christianity.”⁶ Yoder is also famous for his “favored baptist (small b) style of communal Christian life, which sought to recover early Christianity.”⁷ McClendon points out that the churches called “baptist” by historians are typified by four elements: “no authoritative creed; no single set of doctrines marks them off from all others; no fine-spun theory particularizes their way of life; no private ‘revelation’ separates them from other Christians.”⁸ There are a number of “persistent marks” contributing to the baptist tradition: Firstly, Biblicism is understood as “humble acceptance of the authority of Scripture for both faith and practice”; and related themes include the need for restitution and restoration. Secondly, mission or evangelism is understood as “the responsibility to witness to Christ – and accept the suffering that witness entails.” Thirdly, liberty or soul competency is understood as “the God-given freedom to respond to God without the intervention of state or other powers”; related themes are intentional community, voluntarism, and separation of church and state. Fourthly, discipleship is understood as “life transformed into service by the lordship of Jesus Christ”; a related theme is believers’ church, signified by believer’s baptism. Finally, community is understood as “sharing together in a storied life of obedient service to and with Christ,” as signified by the Lord’s Supper.⁹

In *Body Politics*, Yoder surveys “five sample practices” of the Christian community. These practices are “on the basis of the New Testament texts, about particular kinds of behaviour that our faith requires.”¹⁰ These five practices are called sacraments or ordinances by Baptists.¹¹ These normative practices are strikingly identical with Baptist faith and polity. They include the New Testament teaching on the issues of forgiveness, the Lord’s Supper, baptism, the giftedness of believers, and church administration and polity. In essence, each of these has its ecclesiological and social meanings and implications, which include conflict

⁶ James William McClendon, Jr., “John Howard Yoder, One of Our Own (1927-1997),” *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 25, 1 (spring 1998): 25.

⁷ James William McClendon, Jr., “John Howard Yoder, 1927-1997,” in Article: Books & Culture, May/June 1998; English; available from <http://www.christianitytoday.com/bc/8b3/8b3006.html>; Internet; accessed 18 March 2003.

⁸ McClendon, *Ethics: Systematic Theology*, Vol. 1, 27.

⁹ Ibid., 28. For further study on the baptist vision and voice(s), see “Introduction: Baptist Theology in the Third Millennium” in Curtis W. Freeman, James William McClendon, Jr., and C. Rosalee Velloso da Silva, ed., *Baptist Roots: A Reader in the Theology of a Christian People* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Judson Press, 1999), 1-10.

¹⁰ John Howard Yoder, *Body Politics: Five Practices of the Christian Community before the Watching World* (Nashville, Tennessee: Discipleship Resources, 1992), viii. The term “practice” is a neutral word in his book, not the word used by Alasdair MacIntyre.

¹¹ Ibid., 1.

resolution, economic justice for the poor, racial inclusiveness, equal dignity, and democracy, respectively.

Yoder projects an approach to church and state, which encompasses both a minority perspective and a global perspective. He provides a number of useful concepts for coming to a critical understanding of the situation of Baptist churches in colonial Hong Kong. The minority mentality he describes sheds light on the circumstances of Christianity in Hong Kong. Ironically, however, British colonialism brought with it a transplanted version of Constantinianism, which is another of Yoder's areas of analysis. His ecclesial reflection on the Jeremicanic model of community in relation to a larger empire¹² can also be helpful in understanding the Christian Church in post-colonial Hong Kong and in China. I find his teaching provocative, challenging me to rethink my Baptist conceptions of church-state relationships. Therefore, I have chosen to direct my research to the study of the church-state relationship between Baptists in Hong Kong and the British colonial government. The common ground found in Baptist tradition and in Yoder's writings on social ethics justifies the use of Yoder's social ethics as the basis for critiquing the church-state relationship between the Baptist community and the colonial government in the post-World War II era.

Research Design and Methodology

Research Question

Hong Kong was described by the British Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston as "a barren island with hardly a house upon it"¹³ after he had first occupied Hong Kong for the British in January 1841 and declared it a British Colony in June 1843.¹⁴ That opinion contrasts dramatically with the observation made by Chris Patten, the last Governor of colonial Hong Kong. Within an hour of the handover ceremony on July 1, 1997, Patten was on the Royal Yacht *Britiannia*, headed out for the East Sea. In his book, *East and West*, Patten recalls how he had "looked back at Hong Kong dazzling across the night sky" and realised that Hong Kong was one of the greatest

¹² John Howard Yoder, "See How They Go with Their Face to the Sun," chap. in *For the Nations: Essays Evangelical and Public* (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 1997), 51-78.

¹³ Lord Palmerston, 21 April 1841, quoted by George B. Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong* (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1958), 25.

¹⁴ George B. Endacott, *An Eastern Entrepot: A Collection of Documents Illustrating the History of Hong Kong* (London, UK: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1964), 3.

cities in the world, “a colony now returned to its mighty motherland in rather different shape to that in which it had become Britain’s responsibility a century and a half before. Neither Britain nor any other colonial power had ever left a dependency so rich both in treasure and in the fabric of its civil society.”¹⁵ During Britain’s colonial rule, Hong Kong Baptists had also experienced their own progress. At the time of the 1997 handover, Baptists had come to be the largest Protestant denomination in Hong Kong with over 50,000 members and some 140-member churches.¹⁶ The Baptist family also included a number of institutions: Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong Baptist Hospital, Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, Baptist Press, a total of 41 secondary, primary schools, and kindergartens, and about 25 social service centres, all representing the fruits of Baptist labours.¹⁷

After recognising such growth, the research question of this project is: How did the church mainly planted by Southern Baptist missionaries from the US in the nineteenth century become part of the establishment in a British colony and grow to become the largest denomination with social prestige and influence in Hong Kong? Beyond the evangelistic and enthusiasm of the Southern Baptist missionaries and the abundant financial support from the Baptist churches in the US, were there other favourable factors contributing to the growth of Baptists in colonial Hong Kong? In fact, was it likely that the colonial government deliberately offered more opportunities to Hong Kong Baptists due to their background and close connections with Baptist organisations in the US? Since the American government in the Cold War period was famous for its anti-communist ideology and the Southern Baptists were the largest Protestant denomination in the US, it was likely that the Southern Baptists shared the attitude of the American government. A strong Baptist presence could have been seen as a favourable factor in preventing the spread of communism in Hong Kong.

The purpose of this study is therefore an attempt to narrate and explicate the formation of church-state practice of Baptists in Hong Kong, from 1949-1984, by applying the ethics of John Howard Yoder. The emphases of the thesis are as follows: Firstly, it will focus on the question of the extent to which the British colonial policy

¹⁵ Chris Patten, *East and West: The Last Governor of Hong Kong on Power, Freedom and the Future* (London, UK: Macmillan, 1998), 84-85.

¹⁶ “Protestant Community,” HONG KONG – A NEW ERA; English; available from <http://www.info.gov.hk/isd/hk98/ch21/e21c.htm>; internet; accessed 9 December 2002.

¹⁷ *Annual Report of the Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1997* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1997), 160-163.

contributed to the rise of the Baptist church in the colony; namely, it will uncover the roots of the British colonial strategy in the post-World War II era and examine how the Baptist denomination happened to be part of that scheme. Secondly, it will also attempt to account for the formation of the Baptist church-state practice in Hong Kong. Finally, it will employ Yoder's criticism of Constantinianism as a means to critique the Baptist church-state practice in the post-World War II period and the post-colonial era.

Definitions of Concepts and Main Issues

Since social phenomena are always complex, we need an effectual methodology to capture the variation and complexity that characterises the central phenomena of the research. Grounded theory methodology emphasises "the need for developing many concepts and their linkages" in order to achieve this goal.¹⁸ To put it simply, conceptualising is the first step in theory building. Concepts are labelled phenomena which are the abstract representations of events, objects, or actions/interactions.¹⁹ The purpose of "naming phenomena is to enable researchers to group similar events, happenings, and objects under a common heading or classification."²⁰

This research focuses on the period from 1949 to 1984, though the first hundred-year history of Baptists in Hong Kong is surveyed. The span of the three decades after 1949 seems to be the most critical period to the rise of Baptists in Hong Kong and can be regarded as the denomination's take-off stage. Baptists, merely a peripheral denomination before World War II, had become the largest Protestant community by the time of the handover. October 1, 1949, the date of the establishment of the PRC, marked a dramatic change in the church-state relationship in Hong Kong. September 26, 1984 was the date of initiating the draft text of an agreement on the future of Hong Kong, consisting of a Joint Declaration and three Annexes, stating that the Chinese government would resume the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong on July 1, 1997 and the British government would remain responsible for the administration of Hong Kong up to June 30, 1997.²¹ In

¹⁸ Anselm L. Strauss, *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 7.

¹⁹ For details, see Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Development Grounded Theory*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks/London/New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 1998), 101-5.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 103.

²¹ *A Draft of Agreement Between the Government of United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the government of People's Republic of China on the Future of Hong Kong*

other words, September 26, 1984 may be regarded as the outset of the transitional period of Hong Kong in preparation for the handover. Among all the terms and concepts involved, the definition of the Baptist tradition in church-state relationship is the kernel of the study.

1. Baptist Tradition in Church-State Relationship

What is the Baptist tradition in church-state relationship?

The issue of the historical origins of Baptists is complicated. According to Leon McBeth's *The Baptist Heritage*, one of the most authoritative sources on Baptist history, there are four views of Baptists origins: the outgrow of English Separatism, the influence of biblical Anabaptists, the continuation of biblical teachings through the ages, and the succession of organised Baptist churches through the ages. McBeth states that most historians lump the last two views together as "successionism," though their distinctiveness is sufficient to be treated separately.²² Nevertheless, the controversy over the first two: English Separatism and Anabaptists still lingers in Baptist academia.

In fact, most scholars recognise that early Baptists were related to the Separatists, but the disagreement centres upon the questions of why and what preceded the Separatists.²³ Many scholars who hold the view of English Separatism "see no need for other explanations" and they "tend to minimize Anabaptist presence and influence in England before 1600."²⁴ Those who uphold the Anabaptist origin acknowledge that "Baptists emerged through English Separatism, but they believe Anabaptism both on the Continent and in England prepared the way for Separatism."²⁵ Most discussions focus on the idea that: "*some* English Baptists (the General Baptists) may have been influenced by *some* of the Anabaptists (the Dutch Mennonites) at a *specific* time (the early seventeenth century)."²⁶ For instance, Glen Stassen claims that the Anabaptists are the father of Baptists and the Mennonites are the mother. He says that the General Baptists, Smyth and Helwys, were influenced by the Waterlander Mennonite Church in Holland, and the Particular Baptists were fostered by Menno

(Hong Kong: Government Printer, 1984), 1-4.

²² Leon McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1987), 49.

²³ Ibid., 31, 49.

²⁴ Ibid., 49.

²⁵ Ibid., 52.

²⁶ Ibid., 53.

Simons' *Foundation of Christian Doctrine* (1539), better known as *The Foundation-Book* which "laid the foundation of the Particular Baptist origin."²⁷ This claim is made because the source of the *First London Confession* (1644) was mainly based on Menno Simons' *The Foundation-Book* by the Particular Baptists. Stassen persuasively believes that "[b]esides the articles on baptism, the other key doctrines in the *First London Confession* that do not come from the Calvinist *True Confession* or [from] William Ames can also be explained by reading Menno's *Foundation-Book*."²⁸ Stassen's essays won the award conferred by *Baptist History and Heritage* for the best articles contributed in 1998. This recognition may reflect a growing attention to the Mennonite root of Baptist origins. In fact, McBeth is in agreement with Stassen that the importance of Particular Baptists has been overlooked, as historians "have tended to give more space to John Smyth and the General Baptists than to Richard Blunt or William Kiffin and the origin of the Particular Baptists."²⁹ Moreover, they both maintain that modern Baptists draw more of their belief and practices from the Particular Baptists.³⁰ Conclusively, McBeth offers a balanced solution to the debate by asserting that in "preferring the English Separatist explanation of Baptists origins, one need not reject totally the insights of other positions."³¹ As a matter of fact, most Baptist historians have come to a consensus that the English Separatists are a root of Baptists origins.

Then, what is the distinctiveness of Separatists?

The rise of Separatism was due to the failure of efforts to purify the Church of England in the sixteenth century. Many churchmen were determined to separate and form their own independent congregations, where they could follow what they regarded as biblical practices. There were two kinds of Separatists: Pragmatism Separatists and Principle Separatists. The former preferred to continue "to be part of the state church, but separated temporarily to promote reform." The latter perceived that the church "ought to be free of government connection." These Principle Separatists indeed constituted the prominent group in the beginning of Baptist

²⁷ Glen H. Stassen, "Opening Menno Simons' *Foundation – Book* and Finding the Father of Baptist Origins Alongside the Mother – Calvinist Congregationalism," *Baptist History and Heritage* XXXIII, 2 (spring 1998): 34.

²⁸ Glen H. Stassen, "Revisioning Baptist Identity by Naming Our Origin and Character Rightly," *Baptist History and Heritage* XXXIII, 2 (spring 1998): 45.

²⁹ McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage*, 39.

³⁰ Ibid., 40; Stassen, "Opening Menno Simons' *Foundation – Book* and Finding the Father of Baptist Origins Alongside the Mother – Calvinist Congregationalism," 34.

³¹ McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage*, 61.

formation.³²

Among all the Separatists, Roger Williams was undoubtedly one of the most important and most representative in American Baptist history. The significance of Williams in this discourse, basically, centres on his contribution to the formation of the Baptist church-state concept and his Separatist convictions. Interestingly, he was called the “founder of [the] earliest Baptist church in America,”³³ and his “views on religious liberty had a powerful impact on Baptists,”³⁴ although he denied his own Baptist status due to the problem of technicality of succession. Actually, he encountered a crisis which was similar to the one faced by John Smyth in Holland.³⁵ Sometime around March 1639, Williams and several believers formed a Baptist church at Providence, which was the earliest Baptist church in America. He practised public confession of faith and re-baptism by Ezekiel Holliman, a layman from Salem, Massachusettes. However, Williams did not remain a Baptist after three to four months, because Williams realised that since Holliman did not possess a valid baptism, Holliman could not convey a valid baptism to him.³⁶ In this situation, he came to an awareness that the validity of a church or its ordinance needed to be based on unbroken apostolic succession. Only one who possessed valid baptism could confer it to others. This conviction led him to become a non-church member of any church until his death. Nevertheless, Williams’ non-Baptist status did not eliminate his influence on Baptist convictions.

By 1629, Williams had become famous for his rigid Separatist stance after he denounced the Church of England as a false church, from which true Christians had to withdraw. He then accepted the “late New England call” from the church at Salem, near Boston and arrived at the new colony on February 5, 1631.³⁷ Williams, in the year of his arrival, publicly denied the right of the civil magistrate to regulate breaches of religious offences. In October of 1635, he was charged by the authorities regarding his teachings on similar issues, including the division of spheres between civil magistrates and the church. He later developed this concept into the

³² Ibid., 25.

³³ Ibid., 135.

³⁴ Bill J. Leonard, *Baptist Ways: A History*, foreword by Edwin S. Gaustad (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Judson Press, 2003), 75.

³⁵ McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage*, 35-38.

³⁶ Ibid., 131-32.

³⁷ Ibid., 126.

doctrine of separation of church and state.³⁸ In the spring of 1639, Williams established the colony of Rhode Island “with the guarantee of the liberty of conscience for all citizens.”³⁹

Almost everything Williams wrote dealt with his convictions about religious liberty.⁴⁰ He argues that, firstly, scripture and history have proved the wickedness of religious persecution; secondly, civil officers have only civil authority. He further maintains that such liberty can be a means of maintaining domestic peace and tranquillity.⁴¹ Williams’ thought can be thus summarised, “[l]iberty of conscience was simply *freedom from* forced religion and *freedom to* uncoerced religion.”⁴² How can religious liberty be put into practice? Williams contends that the separation of civil and spiritual spheres is essential to providing soul freedom. Williams had thus defined the doctrine of separation of church and state.⁴³ In other words, the idea of religious liberty has to be accomplished by the implementation of church-state separation. To a significant extent, the two form a twin concept that cannot be separated but must be practised together.

Therefore, whenever the Baptist church-state tradition of religious liberty and of church-state separation is mentioned, Williams is the one who must be remembered. Indisputably, religious liberty and church-state separation are regarded as the core concepts giving birth to the Baptist heritage on the church-state issue. Williams, one of the most prominent forefathers shaping the Baptist church-state heritage, is acclaimed by Frank S. Mead, a Methodist historian, saying that Williams “contributed to the making of the United States hardly less than any dozen presidents.”⁴⁴

Baptists are so proud of their heritage and claim that the First Amendment to the United States Constitution was “the fruit of constant Baptist insistence.”⁴⁵ The part of the First Amendment related to the church-state issue reads, “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.” This is indisputably interpreted as the prohibition of an established church

³⁸ Ibid., 127-29.

³⁹ Freeman, McClendon, Jr., and Velloso da Silva, eds., *Baptist Roots: A Reader in the Theology of a Christian People*, 113.

⁴⁰ McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage*, 133.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Freeman, McClendon, Jr., and Velloso da Silva, eds., *Baptist Roots*, 113.

⁴³ McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage*, 134.

⁴⁴ Herschel H. Hobbs and E. Y. Mullins, *The Axioms of Religion*, revised edition (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1978), 15.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 131.

in the United States. Even though there may be a system of faith that is widely accepted by most people, it may not be established or supported by tax money at the various levels—federal, state, or local. The amendment also forbids laws that prohibit the free exercise of religion, which embodies religious freedom, not religious toleration.⁴⁶ The amendment suggests that since the state has no ecclesiastical function, it should not control the church; by the same token, the church, having no civil function, should not control the state.⁴⁷ Thus, it is a justifiable and fair statement to claim that the Baptist witness for religious liberty and church-state separation has been a very strong and distinctive mark in the Baptist movement.⁴⁸

George W. Truett, former president of the Southern Baptist Convention, in his famous sermon on religious liberty at the U.S. Capitol, on Sunday, May 16, 1920, defined church-state separation in laity terms when he said:

In behalf of our Baptist people I am compelled to say that forgetfulness of the [se] principles...explains many of the religious ills that now afflict the world. All went well with the early churches in their earlier days. They were incomparably triumphant days for the Christian faith. Those early disciples of Jesus, without prestige and worldly power, yet aflame with the love of God and the passion of Christ, went out and shook the pagan Roman Empire from center to circumference, even in one brief generation. Christ's religion needs no prop of any kind from any worldly source, and to the degree that it is thus supported is a millstone hanged about its neck.⁴⁹

In other words, Truett's sermon spells out concretely the essence of church-state separation, claiming that when "the followers of Christ depended on nothing more than the power of God to expand Christ's kingdom all went well."⁵⁰ Truett is strongly suggesting that the church should not acquire any form of government aid for

⁴⁶ Ibid., 131-32.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 132.

⁴⁸ In a study of the differences between Baptists and Evangelicals, E. Glenn Hinson states that believers' baptism, religious liberty, and separation of church and state are the three most important distinctive features of Baptists. See James Leo Garrett, Jr., E. Glenn Hinson, and James E. Tull, *Are Southern Baptists "Evangelicals"?* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1983), 165-83, 209-14.

⁴⁹ This address was delivered from the east step of the US Capitol in connection with the annual session of the Southern Baptist Convention and at the request of the Baptist churches of Washington. Can we question the decision of allowing a Protestant preacher to deliver his sermon at the US Capitol, a governmental premise? Would other religious groups, such as Catholic or Buddhist, be allowed to do so? Would the venue of the gathering itself be considered as a violation of church-state separation? George W. Truett, "Baptists and Religious Liberty," in *Proclaiming the Baptist Vision: Religious Liberty*, ed. Walter B. Shurden (Macon, Georgia: Smyth & Helwys, 1997), 70.

⁵⁰ "Separation of Church and State," *Life with Liberty Series* (Washington D.C.: Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, 1986).

the sake of evangelism or ministry development. Therefore, more generative questions⁵¹ will be asked as follows:

If the Southern Baptists regard the separation of church and state as a basic Christian principle derived from the Bible, should they also practise this principle in other contexts? Did Baptists in Hong Kong and the Southern Baptist missionaries ever consider that it might be a violation of the separation of church and state when public funds or resources was used for subsidising the Baptist educational and medical institutions in Hong Kong? What was their rationale for co-operating with the Hong Kong government in the social services ministry?

2. Concepts and Main Issues

With the aim of developing a model of the church-state relationship between Baptists in Hong Kong and the colonial government in this research, the following concepts are identified and a description of their properties and dimension are provided:

“The pattern of interactions between Baptists and the colonial government in the area of education” – After the influx of refugees from Mainland China in the 1950s, Baptists in Hong Kong responded to the social needs of the community and committed themselves to social ministries, including education, medical, and social services. The main focus of this research is on the endeavour made by the government and the educational commitment of the Baptist denominational body (the Baptist Association and later the Baptist Convention). Baptist commitment was expressed in the founding of the institutions: Hong Kong Baptist College and a group of secondary and elementary schools and kindergartens, Hong Kong Baptist Hospital and a number of social service centres.

“A relationship between the Baptist worship practice and the formation of the Baptist church-state practice” – Since Sunday worship is regarded as the most

⁵¹ According to Anselm Strauss, generative questions are “essential to making distinctions and comparisons; thinking about possible hypotheses, concepts, and their relationships; sampling, and the like.” The original generative question “may come from insight, which actually sparks interest in an aspect of some phenomenon and thus challenges the researcher to study ‘it’.” (17) in Strauss, *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*, 17-22. Research question is the specific query to be addressed by the research that “sets the parameters of the project and suggests the methods to be used for data gathering and analysis.” (35) in Strauss and Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research*, 35-42. Simply speaking, the difference between generative question and research question that the former is regarded as the preliminary stage that stimulates the line of investigation in profitable direction. The latter is regarded as the mature stage that sets the boundaries on what will be studied and that identifies the phenomenon to be studied.

important occasion for shaping Christian life and spirituality, it would be expected that the teaching of church-state relations would be indispensable to Sunday worship. Furthermore, the theology of the congregation and the content of sermons can be considered as two important elements affecting the practice of worship. Thus, the theology inspiring Baptists in Hong Kong and the content of sermons are examined to see how they moulded church-state practice. The implication is that it is unlikely that Baptists in Hong Kong would have been able to follow Baptist principles in church-state relations if they were shaped by a theology which did not include teachings about this issue and if there were no mention of the relationship between church and state in Sunday worship.

“An exploration of Yoder’s ethics on church-state as the criteria for explicating the mentality and strategies of Baptists regarding the educational ministry which can be reckoned as an embodiment of church-state practice” – The ethics of John Howard Yoder as the criteria for the Baptists’ church-state practice is mainly derived from his Jereminanic Model in *For the Nations* (1998) and the five sample practices of the Christian community in *Body Politics* (1992). Undoubtedly, the foundation for Yoder’s ethics on church-state is built on his previous writings, collected under other titles. Yoder wrote a number of books which are abundant resources for the study, such as *The Priestly Kingdom* (1984), *The Politics of Jesus* (1994), *The Christian Witness to the State* (1997), *The Original Revolution* (1998), and *The Royal Priesthood* (1998).

Since officials of the Baptist denomination were the decision-makers of the educational policy and the educational ministry was an embodiment of the church-state practice of the denomination, the mentality and rationale of the educational strategies of the related officials were the determinative factors in the development of the ministry, which will be evaluated by Yoder’s Jereminanic model.

“Chinese theology in the first half of the twentieth century” – In the nineteenth century, the primary spokespersons for the Chinese churches were the western missionaries in China. It was because Chinese theology basically depended on the western theology with the writings on the indigenous theology being rare. The Chinese Christian leaders in the twentieth century were more concerned about the problems of that period. Their vibrant articulation of the contemporary issues laid the foundation of Chinese theology. Although Chinese Christians have been scattered all over the world since 1949 and various contextual Chinese theologies in different

regions have been formed, their theologies have all derived from Chinese theology in Mainland China.⁵² Certainly, the theological practices of Baptists in Hong Kong in the post-World War II period was deeply influenced by Chinese theology in China.

“Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong” – By the end of 1951, the total force of the Southern Baptist missionaries in China numbered about 220.⁵³ They had all left Mainland China by the end of 1951.⁵⁴ Many of them from South China, mostly Cantonese-speaking, were organised as the Hong Kong-Macao Mission (hereafter the Baptist Mission) in May 1952.⁵⁵ The Southern Baptist missionaries provided the important resources, both manpower and finance, for the local Baptist churches. Their responsibilities included serving as faculty members at Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary (hereafter HKBTS) and Baptist College, teachers at the secondary schools, medical doctors at Baptist Hospital, administrators in the Convention, church planters, and advisory pastors of the churches. They played a crucial role in the development of the Baptist movement in Hong Kong.

“Relationship between local Baptist pastors and the Southern Baptist missionaries” – Before and after 1949, most of the local Baptist pastors were trained at the Baptist seminaries in South China and Hong Kong. HKBTS was established in 1951 with most of the faculty members being Southern Baptist missionaries. Therefore, the Southern Baptist missionaries were not only highly respected by the local pastors, who were their former students at the seminaries and apprentices in the field, but they were also influential in the Baptists’ leadership that determined the future development of the Baptist community in the territory. Most of the graduates of HKBTS have served in Hong Kong and some have given leadership to Chinese churches in Macao, Taiwan, Southeast Asia, Australia, New Zealand, and even the United States. Thus, the Chinese Baptist communities in Hong Kong and overseas

⁵² Lam Wing-hung, *A Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900-1949* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology, 1998), ix-x.

⁵³ Paul Yat-keung Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1974), 132.

⁵⁴ Winston Crawley, *Partners Across the Pacific: China and Southern Baptists: Into the Second Century* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1986), 95.

⁵⁵ J. Winston Crawley, “East Asia,” in *Advance: A History of Southern Baptist Foreign Missions*, Baker J. Cauthen and others (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1970), 108. The seven pioneer missionaries to Hong Kong were: Miss Mary Alexander, Rev. Victor L. Frank and Mrs. Irma Frank, Rev. Ronald W. Fuller and Mrs. Margaret Fuller, Rev. James D. Hollis and Mrs. Corinne Hollis. See “Minutes of the First Quarterly Session of the Hong Kong-Macau Mission of Southern Baptist Convention 1952,” *Minutes and Constitution and By-Laws of Hong Kong-Macao Mission of American Southern Baptist Convention 1952* (Hong Kong), 3-6.

were influenced by the teaching of the missionaries. Before the 1997 handover, Hong Kong was regarded as “a strategic training ground” for Baptists of East and Southeast Asia since the 1950s.⁵⁶

“Baptists in Hong Kong” – Historically, “Baptists” in Hong Kong were mainly composed of two groups: the Southern Baptists and American Baptists. Since the 1950s, the affiliation with the Southern Baptist Convention has been dominant, as most of the local Baptist churches acquired support from the Southern Baptists Convention through the Baptist Mission in Hong Kong both in finance and manpower.⁵⁷

“The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong” – The denominational body of Baptists was first formed on March 27, 1938 and named “Hong Kong Baptist Association,” comprising four churches and two chapels with a total membership of 1,778.⁵⁸ In 1951, the Association was formally registered with the government as “The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association.” It was renamed again in 1973 “The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong.” It is the official representative of the Baptist community in Hong Kong to deal with the government.

“The social needs in Hong Kong after 1949” – The influx of refugees from Mainland China in 1949 caused serious social welfare problems in Hong Kong, particularly in education, housing, and medicine. The contribution of the western missionary organisations to the desperate situation was welcomed by the Hong Kong colonial government. Afterwards, the social involvement of the church organisations became a major force in the social service system in Hong Kong.

“Political situation after 1949” – The year 1949 was undoubtedly a milestone in international politics. The communist regime established in Beijing represented the completion of two political-ideological blocs and the beginning of the Cold War. Hong Kong, situated at the south-eastern tip of Mainland China, was geographically

⁵⁶ Crawley, “East Asia,” 108-09.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 108-10.

⁵⁸ Tamm Hei-tin, “*Ershi Nian Lai De Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jian Shu*,” [“A Concise History of The Baptist Association of Hong Kong for Twenty Years”] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan* [Special Memorial Issue for the Twentieth Anniversary of The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association 1938-1958] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association, 1958), 10; Irma Frank, “Twenty Years History of The Hong Kong Baptist Association,” in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan* [Special Memorial Issue for the Twentieth Anniversary of The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association 1938-1958] (Hong Kong: The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association, 1958), appendix p. 1.

close and therefore the best place to keep China under round-the-clock surveillance. This political situation increased uncertainty and further complicated the church-state relationship in Hong Kong.

“The British colonial policies in Hong Kong” and “the British colonial strategy in the post-World War II era” – The British colonial policies in Hong Kong would be expected to be consistent with the overall British colonial strategy in Asia in the same period. An overview of the British colonial policies in Malaya after World War II sheds some light on British colonial policies in Hong Kong.

“The Hong Kong colonial government” – Since the mass scale social involvement of Baptists and other church organisations in the 1950s, the working relationship between the related departments of the Hong Kong colonial government has been established. After a four-decade period of co-operation, a tight-knitted relationship (partnership) developed.

“The implications on the church-state practice of Baptists in the post-colonial era” – The study is expected to proffer theological advice to Baptists on the practice of worship and educational ministry, as a means of shaping of the church-state practice. The post-colonial era refers to the period after the handover of Hong Kong to the PRC on July 1, 1997.

Methodology and Sources of Materials

The project is an interdisciplinary study of theology, church history, political science, sociology, and history, and involves extensive library research. Different kinds of relevant documents and records, which are available and accessible, will be utilised, such as those of the Hong Kong government, the Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, Hong Kong-Macao Mission of the Southern Baptist Convention and various Baptist institutions in Hong Kong. Other sources include Baptist member churches' records, official and personal letters, sermon texts, Sunday worship service programs, newsletters, journals, newspapers, photos, novels, audio and video records. Interviews are a vital part of the research. The main resources for the historical studies of Hong Kong Baptists and the Southern Baptist Mission in Hong Kong include the following: The Archives on the History of Christianity in China in the library at Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong; The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, Hong Kong; Hong Kong Baptist Mission, The International Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Hong Kong; Hong Kong Baptist

Theological Seminary, Hong Kong; Hong Kong Public Record Office, Hong Kong.

Among the concepts mentioned earlier, the first three seem to be the major concepts; and the first two, “the pattern of interactions between Baptists and the colonial government in the area of education” and “a relationship between the Baptist worship practice and the formation of the Baptist church-state practice” are potentially central concepts. This is because they seem to be central to the integration of the model (theory), and all the other concepts and their properties are likely to be related to them, making them the subject to much qualification and modification. To a certain extent, they seem to explain what “this research is all about.”⁵⁹

It is likely that the “interactions between Baptists and the colonial government in the area of education” was the embodiment of local Baptists’ understanding of the Baptist tradition of church-state relations. The dynamic of the interactions between both parties and within the Baptist community will be explored. Interviews of local pastors, lay-leaders, church members, and retired Southern Baptist missionaries are an invaluable source of data collection. The documents surveyed include sermons, published articles, speeches, official and personal letters, and reports on the related issues in the business meetings in the Baptist Convention, the Baptist Mission, HKBTS, and other Baptist institutions. The following issues will enable us to understand the various dynamics, such as: Who took the initiative of the undertakings and what was their rationale? What was the possible rationale behind the colonial government and Baptists? What were the theological and practical considerations of Baptists? What were the arguments, both the pros and cons among Baptists? What were the decision-making process and procedures of the Baptist Convention? What were the stance and role of the Southern Baptist missionaries on those issues? The findings of the above inquiry may provide some clues to identify the nature of church-state relations between Baptists and the government and how that church-state relationship had a bearing on the growth of Baptists in Hong Kong.

Concerning “a relationship between the Baptist worship practice and the formation of the Baptist church-state practice,” a study on the ecclesiological and theological heritage of the Chinese churches in the territory in the post-World War II period will provide substantial information about Baptists’ understanding and rationale in regard to the practice of worship, as the theology determined the practice to a

⁵⁹ Strauss and Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research*, 146.

significant extent. Since Sunday worship is the occasion when Christians are taught theologically and spiritually, a scrutiny of Sunday worship service programmes, from 1950 to 1984, of the three largest Baptist churches in Hong Kong is essential, as most of the core official posts of the Baptist Convention during that period were held by the members of these churches, and they were the group responsible for the policy-making of the Baptist Convention. If the Sunday worships of these churches were able to offer substantial teaching of Baptist tradition of church-state relations, their members, including those who held official posts in the Baptist Convention, were expected to have a proper understanding of the concept that would lead them to act according to Baptist principles of church-state separation. The orders of worship, the content of sermons, and the singing in worship will be analysed. Interviews from the pastors of these churches and their church members on the contents of sermon in Sunday worship is also another important source for data collection.

Concerning “an exploration of Yoder’s ethics on church-state as the criteria for explicating the mentality and strategies of Baptists regarding the educational ministry which can be reckoned as an embodiment of church-state practice,” Yoder’s concept of the Jeremianic Model will be constructed, based on his unsystematic writings since the 1950s. Among all the features of Yoder’s model, “effectiveness” and “faithfulness” are two key features that have served as the main criteria to express the Baptist mentality and strategies for the educational ministry. Yoder’s emphasis on “the church as a worshipping community” will be employed to help Baptists establish a faithful practice of worship that can lead them to a faithful church-state practice in the post-colonial era.

An Overview of the Argument of the Study

This study involves a theological and empirical research presented in seven chapters, including the Introduction and the Conclusion.

The theme of Chapter One, “From Periphery to Establishment,” will narrate how Baptists in Hong Kong developed as the largest Protestant denomination in Hong Kong. The ecclesiological context of China, including colonial Hong Kong, and the socio-political context of colonial Hong Kong in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries are also discussed. A narrative of Baptists in Hong Kong, from 1842-1984 is presented.

The thesis of Chapter Two, “From Periphery to Partnership,” will describe how

the partnership between Baptists and the British colonial government was established after 1949. The chapter is divided into different aspects of the phenomena with explanations. In the first part, two aspects of the phenomenon, which embody the church-state practice of Baptists, are examined: firstly, interactions between Sir Alexander Grantham, the Governor, and Lam Chi-fung, the leader of Hong Kong Baptists on their educational ministry, and secondly, interactions between Baptist laity and pastors on the educational issue. In the second part, the socio-political-ecclesiological context of Hong Kong in the post-World War II period will be addressed. This section offers the possible explanations of the phenomena: firstly, Hong Kong under Sir Alexander Grantham's governorship; secondly, the reasons for the British remaining in Hong Kong; thirdly, interactions between Bishop R. O. Hall and Sir Alexander Grantham on Christian social services; British colonial strategies in Malaya, and the concepts of patronage and *kuan-hsi* (network).

The main idea of Chapter Three, "From the Holy One to One's Own Self," is to explore the theological heritage and cultural factors shaping Baptists' practice of worship, and the impact of the practice of worship upon their church-state practice. The chapter comprises two parts: the phenomena and the explanations. The first part is a study of the phenomena and the issues to be addressed including the following: firstly, the development of the Baptist denomination in Hong Kong; secondly, an analysis of Baptist polity and the composition of the leadership of the Baptist Convention, and thirdly, an examination of Baptist worship services, including orders of worship service, topics of sermon, and themes of worship service. The second part is an investigation of the formation of the spirituality of worship from the perspective of theological heritage and the Chinese cultural factor. The former includes the influence of the theologies of Wang Ming-tao (Wang Mingdao) and premillennialism, and the latter refers to state control of religion.

The objective of Chapter Four, "From Christendom to Post-Christendom," is to survey the church-state models, based upon the elucidation of Hong Kong's church-state situation. This chapter consists of three parts: Firstly, it begins with an analysis of political characteristics of Hong Kong and a review of the existing models constructed by Hong Kong sociologists. Secondly, a discourse on church-world concepts by the Western theologians, Oliver O'Donovan, Stanley Hauerwas, and John Howard Yoder, is introduced. Finally, a dialogue among the three Western theologians related to the context of Hong Kong is presented. This includes Yoder's critique of

Constantinianism, the relationship between the Church's Mission and Christendom in the context of Hong Kong.

The focus of Chapter Five, "From Constantinianism to Diaspora," is to construct Yoder's Jeremianic model as the criterion for explicating the mentality and strategies of Baptists regarding the educational ministry as a manifestation of church-state practice. The chapter is composed of three parts: Firstly, a construction of Yoder's Jeremianic model is presented and the strengths and applicability of the model are appraised in the socio-ecclesiastical context of Hong Kong. Secondly, "effectiveness" and "faithfulness," two key features of the model, are singled out as the main criteria for illuminating Baptists' thinking and providing strategies for their social ministry. A twofold implication on the church-state practice of Baptists in Hong Kong in the context of the post-colonial era is probed: A faithful practice of worship service is the foundation of restoring of a faithful church-state practice. Moreover, the restoration of a faithful church-state practice would lead Baptists to the abandonment of the practice of Constantinianism. One of the indications would be the renunciation of the privileges given by the government. Thirdly, the "Yoderian" practice of "the church as a worshipping community" is one of the sources to facilitate Baptists faithfully practising worship. This will enable them to be aware of the crisis caused by marginalisation and privatisation of worship.

The final chapter is the Conclusion, "From Establishment to Periphery," which consists of the summary of the thesis and an overview of the post-1949 Home Church Movement in Mainland China, which serves as an alternative model of church-state practice for Baptists in the present day Hong Kong – when the city that has taken on a new configuration with an ever increasing strong presence of Mainland China's political and ideological influence.

CHAPTER ONE

FROM PERIPHERY TO ESTABLISHMENT

The development of the Baptist movement in Hong Kong, basically, can be divided into three stages: the early stage, from 1842 to 1900; the developing stage, from 1900 to 1949; and the take-off stage, from 1949 to 1997. The early stage covers the first sixty years of pioneer mission accomplishment in the colony. The mission ministry was carried out by the Southern Baptist and American Baptist missionaries from the United States. The developing stage consists of a fifty-year period of indigenization of the local Baptist churches. The final stage was the take-off period, roughly forty years in which Baptist churches experienced rapid growth.

The main focus of this chapter is on narrating the growth of the Baptist movement in colonial Hong Kong, accompanied by a brief introduction to the Protestant missionary movement and the ecclesiological context of China in the nineteenth century. The discourse is divided into three major parts: firstly, an overview of the Protestant missionary movement, including the backdrop and motives of mission; secondly, a brief history of Christianity in China before the nineteenth century and the ecclesiological context in China in the nineteenth century; and finally, a narrative of Baptist development in Hong Kong, from 1842 to 1984.

The Protestant Missionary Movement in the Nineteenth Century

According to Thomas Clancy, there have only been four periods of decline in the Catholic Church.

There have only been four occasions in the history of the Church when the number of priests has declined steadily for more than a decade. The first such period was the Black Death in the fourteenth century. The second period was the Reformation. The third was the end of the eighteenth century and the start of the nineteenth. We are living in the fourth today.¹

Samuel Hugh Moffett points out that for two and a half centuries during the third period of decline, the Iberian imperial power was the dominant force and the pioneer

¹ Thomas H. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life: The Constitution and History through 435 Years* (St. Louis, Missouri: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1976), 188; cited in Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume II: 1500 to 1900* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2005), 175.

in the expansion of Christianity throughout the world. However, Rome faltered toward the end of the eighteenth century. By the 1830s, the number of Roman Catholics in the East and southern Asia is estimated to have been half that of an earlier period.² Moffett shares William V. Bangert's view that one of the most critical factors in the decline might be the abolition of the Jesuits by the papacy in 1773.³ Another fatal factor is thought to have been, after the French Revolution in 1789, when the Paris Foreign Missionary Society, the most promising new missionary society was ostracised.⁴ Nevertheless, Moffett argues that "a rising Protestant empire, Great Britain, was rapidly undermining what worldwide prestige the failing Iberian empires still retained."⁵ Here, Moffett vividly abstracts the international and ecclesiological relations in the transition of the third period of the Roman Catholic decline. He sees a likely correlation between the decline of the Roman Catholic mission and the decline of the Iberian nations. The nineteenth century was the age of the rise of the Protestant nations, such as Great Britain and the Netherlands. Politically, the Protestant nations replaced the Iberian Catholic nations and rose to dominate as the military powers of the Christian world. Ecclesiologically, the scenario was the same: the Protestant mission societies became the prime force of the swift expansion of Christianity in the nineteenth century.

The past two hundred years of Christian missionary undertaking has become known as "the modern missionary movement," described as "the earliest forces of 'globalization.'" In fact, the movement was carried out by means of a highly organized investment, and the transfer of funds, personnel, literature, and institutions from West to East and North to South.⁶ Brian Stanley is vehemently in consonance with David J. Bosch's argument that there was a significant relationship between the Enlightenment and the modern missionary movement: "the Enlightenment would profoundly influence mission thinking and practice, the more so since the entire modern missionary enterprise is, to a real extent, a child of the Enlightenment"; and "[t]he entire Western missionary movement of the past three centuries emerged from

² Ibid..

³ Ibid., 178-79; also see William V. Bangert, *History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, Missouri: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1986), 430; Brian Stanley, "Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation," in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Surrey, UK: Eerdmans and Curzon Press, Ltd., 2001), 2.

⁴ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume II: 1500 to 1900*, 179.

⁵ Ibid., 178.

⁶ Stanley, "Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation," 1.

the matrix of the Enlightenment.”⁷ Bosch maintains that in this epoch, “virtually everybody operated within the framework generated by the Enlightenment.”⁸ Since the Catholic Church and its theology “withstood Enlightenment influences more effectively than did Protestantism and succeeded more than the latter to remain intact,”⁹ Protestant missions were comparatively “much more active apostles of modernity than Catholic ones,”¹⁰ and some impact of the Enlightenment upon Protestantism did not occur in Catholicism. One result of the Enlightenment’s influence was the birth of evangelicalism, closely associated with the birth to the eighteenth-century Protestant missionary awaking.¹¹ David W. Bebbington asserts that “[t]he evangelical version of Protestantism was created by the Enlightenment.”¹²

Concerning the influence of the Enlightenment on Christianity and Christian theology, Bosch presents a seven-point discourse on the characteristics of the Enlightenment paradigm: Firstly, “*reason* became supremely important also in Christian theology.” Secondly, “the Enlightenment’s strict separation between *subject* and *object* in the natural sciences was also applied to theology.” Thirdly, “[t]he *elimination of purpose* from science and the replacement of purpose by *direct causality* as the clue to the understanding of reality was another dimension of Enlightenment thinking that made deep inroads into theological thinking.” Fourthly, “[p]erhaps the optimism of the Enlightenment’s philosophy of *progress* is the element more clearly recognizable in modern theology and the contemporary church than any of the element listed”; thus, “Christianity was regarded as an irresistible power in the process of reforming the world, eradicating poverty, and restoring justice for all.” Fifthly, “[e]qually far-reaching for theology was the Enlightenment’s distinction between *fact* and *value*” and the logical outcome of this course was that “Christianity was reduced to one province of the wide empire of religion.” Sixthly, “[t]he Enlightenment tenet that *all problems were in principle solvable* had an equally far-reaching effect on theology and the church.” Finally, the Enlightenment’s perception that “everyone was an

⁷ David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1991), 274, 344; Stanley, “Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation,” 3-4.

⁸ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 285.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 262.

¹⁰ Stanley, “Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation,” 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London, UK: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 74; cited in Stanley, “Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation,” 2.

emancipated, autonomous individual” led to “the rampant individualism which soon pervaded Protestantism in particular...The church became peripheral, since each individual not only had the right but also the ability to know God’s revealed will.”¹³ Bosch encapsulates the influence of the Enlightenment: on the one hand, “it spawned an attitude of tolerance to all people and a relativistic attitude toward belief of any kind”; on the other hand, “it gave birth to Western superiority feelings and prejudice.”¹⁴

Brian Stanley also offers his observation on the conduct of Christian missions within the modern Protestant tradition, mainly derived from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Firstly, there was “an almost universal belief that non-Western people were ‘heathens,’ lost in the degradation of sin and in need of salvation through the gospel of Christ.” Secondly, there was “a parallel tendency to dismiss other religious systems either as ‘heathen idolatry’ or as at best superstitions and not religions at all, and hence as devoid of any trace of the presence of God.” Thirdly, there was “a belief in the manifest superiority and liberating potential of Western ‘civilization,’ in both its intellectual and its technological aspects.” Fourthly, there was “an unshakable confidence in the regenerative capacity of rational knowledge, always provided this was linked to Christian proclamation.” Finally, there was an assumption that the Christian message was addressed principally to individuals, calling them to undergo a conscious and identifiable inner experience of personal ‘conversion’ to Christ.”¹⁵ Stanley points out that only the last two “can be ‘explained’ with any semblance of plausibility by primary reference to the Enlightenment,” and the first three “can be shown to be rooted in older, pre-Enlightenment traditions.” Thus, he forcefully claims that the patterns of the missionary practice in the non-Western world in the modern period were partially cultivated by “certain philosophical emphases current in the Enlightenment,” but not totally originated from the Enlightenment.¹⁶

Since the macro-paradigm of the Enlightenment remains elusive, Bosch attempts to explore the issue by surveying a variety of sub-paradigms, though some of them appear to be in tension and conflict with others.¹⁷ Among the sub-paradigms, the

¹³ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 267-73.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 344.

¹⁵ Stanley, “Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation,” 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

¹⁷ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 285. The full discussion of the sub-paradigms can be found in the section of “Missionary Motifs in the Enlightenment Era” and the motifs are as follows: “The Glory of

motif of “mission and colonialism” is the one very much fitting the political and ecclesiological contexts of China in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A brief overview of the backdrop and emphasis of the Protestant missionary movement and the motif of “missions and colonialism” are noteworthy.

Backdrop and Emphasis of the Protestant Missionary Movement

The nineteenth century has been called “the Great Century of Mission,” due to the Evangelical Awakening that brought fresh missionary enthusiasm and vitality to the Western Protestant mission work. The pivot of the movement was the resistance to Enlightenment rationalism and modernism.¹⁸ Paradoxically, the Enlightenment “unleashed an enormous amount of Christian energy which was, in part, channelled into overseas missionary efforts,” even though the missionary circle in the West on the whole reacted rather negatively to it.¹⁹ The emphasis of the evangelical movement was personal conversion, a devout regenerated life, new enthusiasm for witnessing to God’s saving love in Christ, and social concern. The colonial expansion was regarded as a major means to carry out the missionary movement.²⁰

As mentioned above, the idea of progress is the most recognisable element of the Enlightenment’s philosophy affecting modern theology. It became prominent in the seventeenth century and “extended into all walks of life and all disciplines” in the following century; finally, it reached its zenith in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Optimism and pragmatism which permeated the western world were forces pushing Protestant missions toward the future.²¹ The nineteenth century was conceived as “the harvest time of the world” and “not an age to be idle.” The Western churches were expected to conquer the whole world within few decades, not by means of miracles, but by means of “industry and zeal.” The gospel was considered as “an instrument” or “a tool” or “a means” of civilising the heathen, and “joined the three great gods of the modern era – science, technology, and industrialization.” The

God,” “Constrained by Jesus’ Love?” “The Gospel and Culture,” “Mission and Manifest Destiny,” “Mission and Colonialism,” “Mission and the Millennium,” “Voluntarism,” “Missionary Fervor, Optimism, and Pragmatism,” and “The Biblical Motif.” For details, see Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 284-341.

¹⁸ Anne Wind, “The Protestant Missionary Movement from 1789 to 1963,” in *Missiology: An Ecumenical Introduction: Texts and Contexts of Global Christianity*, ed. F. J. Verstraelen [et al.] (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1995), 237.

¹⁹ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 334.

²⁰ Wind, “The Protestant Missionary Movement from 1789 to 1963,” 237-38.

²¹ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 334.

adjectives for describing the Protestant missionary mood of the period include: pragmatic, purposeful, activist, impatient, self-confident, single-minded, and triumphant.²² It was reported that the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, known as “ecumenical evangelical” conference, focused on praising “both the salvation wrought in Christ and the astonishing progress of ‘secular’ science,” and the latter was “naively lauded as manifestation of God’s providence for the sake of the church’s worldwide mission.” Thus, the Edinburgh Conference was regarded as “the all-time high watermark in Western missionary enthusiasm, the zenith of the optimistic and pragmatist approach to missions.” However, the optimistic mood in continental Europe was crushed by World War I. It was a watershed of the theological thinking between continental Europe and the English-speaking world, as the optimistic mood still permeated both North America and Britain throughout the 1950s.²³

During the era of the Enlightenment, one of the most remarkable phenomena was the emergence of missionary societies, including denominational, interdenominational, nondenominational, and anti-denominational. By the end of the eighteenth century, new missionary societies burst out in all traditional Protestant countries: Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, and the United States. This was one of the most significant consequences of the Great Awakening in the American colonies, the birth of Methodism, and the evangelical revival in Anglicanism from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century.²⁴ Dozens of new mission organizations sprang up in the North Atlantic world from the end of the eighteenth century onwards. For instance, the first society, which was denominational, was the Baptist Missionary society, known as the Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, founded by William Carey in 1792, and the first interdenominational society was the London Missionary Society in 1795. By the end of the nineteenth century, more new missionary societies had been formed in the United States, and more missionaries were being sent from the United States than from any other country.²⁵ On the European continent, new mission societies were also established in England, the Netherlands, and Germany. Along

²² Ibid., 335-36.

²³ Ibid., 336-38.

²⁴ Ibid., 280, 327. For details of the Great Awakening in the American colonies, the birth of Methodism, and the evangelical revival in Anglicanism, the three factors converged to effect a spiritual change in the English-speaking world, see Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 277-84.

²⁵ Wind, “The Protestant Missionary Movement from 1789 to 1963,” 238; Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 327-31.

with the generally focal mission fields such as China, South East Asia, Latin America, and Africa, these mission societies paid special attention to South Africa and to the Jews. In fact, there were fifty-eight societies for Jews in Western Europe in 1906.²⁶

Mission and Colonialism

Strictly speaking, the intertwinement of colonialism and mission did not originate in the Enlightenment. It could be traced back to Catholicism and the royal patronage granted by the pope to the kings of Portugal and Spain in the fifteenth century. The events of Vasco da Gama opening a sea route to India and of Columbus “discovering” the Americas, inaugurated a completely new era in world history: “Europe’s colonization of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Americas.”²⁷ Bosch points out that the very origin of the term mission “presupposes the ambience of the West’s colonization of overseas territories and its subjugation of their inhabitants.” Thus, if one said “mission,” one in a sense referred to “colonialism.”²⁸

During the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, both Roman Catholics and Protestants reckoned that the conquered nations would also have to submit to the religion of the Western ruler, Christianity, which could include the idea of theocracy. In the seventeenth century, there was a shift of the theocratic ideal that the Western powers’ primary consideration of colonialism was mercantile. It has been observed that the Dutch, British, and Danish mercantile companies rather than their governments took the initiative in acquiring overseas possessions. Therefore, the colonial expansion of the Western Protestant nations in that period could be deemed as “thoroughly secular.” In the nineteenth century, there was a reunion of the colonial expansion and missions. The colonial authorities began to welcome missionaries warmly into their territories and the two became “ideal allies” again. Whether they liked it or not, the missionaries of the Western powers were labelled as pioneers of Western imperialistic expansion. In fact, missionaries sometimes petitioned their government to extend the protectorate to the areas where they were working as they genuinely believed that their own country’s rule would be more beneficent than other

²⁶ Wind, “The Protestant Missionary Movement from 1789 to 1963,” 238-239.

²⁷ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 226. For details of colonialism and mission of Catholicism, see Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 226-30.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 302-03.

powers.²⁹ Also, missionaries were criticised because “they never doubted the legitimacy of colonialism,” even though they launched stern criticisms against the colonial administration; they assumed that “colonialism was an inexorable force and that all they were required to do was somehow to try to tame it.” The problem became worse “when the missionary idea was adopted by the establishment and mission agencies became respected organizations in Western society, the situation changed and the road of compromise could hardly be resisted.”³⁰ Unavoidably, it gave people an impression that missions “served the interests of empire rather than that colonialism served the cause of mission.”³¹ Thus, missions became the “hounds of imperialism,” bearers and advocates of Western imperialism.³²

Furthermore, the intertwinement of colonialism and mission led to another serious problem, that was the conception of the advance of Western technological civilisation. Since the seventeenth century, Christians in the West did not on the whole have any doubt in regarding the superiority of their own faith over all others. Therefore, “their feelings of *religious* superiority would spawn beliefs about *cultural* superiority.” The scientific and technological advancement of the West engendered a feeling of superiority and unparalleled advantage over the rest of the world, which led to the ‘logical’ thought that “the ‘Christian West’ had the ‘right’ to impose its views on others.”³³ The consequence of the notion was that people were classified according to the levels of civilisation (as interpreted by the West). The “civilised” not only felt superior to the “uncivilised,” but also considered themselves responsible for them. In other words, it was a divine call of the former to impose “good” on the latter.³⁴

In short, a catchword of the “three C’s” of colonialism: Christianity, commerce, and civilisation, is indeed a vivid expression of the intertwinement of colonialism and mission.³⁵

²⁹ Ibid., 303-05.

³⁰ Ibid., 312.

³¹ Ibid., 305.

³² Ibid., 312.

³³ Ibid., 291-92.

³⁴ Ibid., 312-13.

³⁵ Ibid., 305.

A Brief History of Christianity in China before 1842 and the Ecclesiological Context in China in the Nineteenth Century

In most Asians' minds, Christianity is a Western religion. However, that view is not true. The church actually began in Asia. The earliest history of Christianity and its centres were Asian.³⁶ In fact, the Church of the East, not Eastern Orthodoxy but the original name of the Nestorian church, "exercised ecclesiastical authority over more of the earth than either Rome or Constantinople."³⁷ Before the end of the first century, Christianity went eastward across the borders of the Roman Empire into "Asian" Asia. India has one of the oldest and strongest traditions in church history, established by Thomas the Apostle soon after the resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ. Although the claim of the Thomas' tradition in India is not widely accepted by the Western church, which regards it as legend, evidence shows that the church in south India was strengthened by the visit of the theologian Pantaenus from Egypt in the second century.³⁸ There were three Christian missionary waves to China before the nineteenth century.

7th Century: The First Stage of Christian Missions to China

By the mid-seventh century, Alopen, a Persian-Nestorian missionary, reached the "end of the world," the capital of the Tang dynasty (618-907) of China in 635.³⁹ Three years later in 638, the first Christian church in China was built in the capital, Xian, at that time the largest city in the world.⁴⁰ Alopen's team was courteously

³⁶ Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume I: Beginnings to 1500*, 2nd rev. and corrected ed. (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1998), xiii.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 24-44; see also Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, trans. by Kirsopp Lake (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980); Jerome, *On Illustrious Men*, trans. by Thomas P. Halton (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1999). The mission of Pantaenus to India was around 180 or 190. He was the most famous scholar and head of the theological school in Alexandria, center of Egyptian Christianity. According to Moffett's description, "Pantaenus is a remarkable figure. Born a Jew and thoroughly trained in Greek philosophy — probably in Sicily, for Clement calls him 'the Sicilian bee' in recognition of his diligent study habits — he was converted to the Christian faith and moved to Alexandria. There his scholarship won him appointment as principal of the catechetical school for the training of the priesthood. He was soon acknowledged as the greatest Christian teacher of his age. Among his disciples were Clement of Alexandria and Origen. In background he was a Stoic with a mixture of Pythagorean Platonism, but his fame in Christian studies was as expositor of the Scriptures. Jerome, the Bible translator, acknowledges his debt to the many commentaries of Pantaenus, none of which unfortunately survive; and Clement pays tribute to him as his late but best teacher." (p.36)

³⁹ Lo Hsiang-lin, *Nestorianism in the T'ang and Yuan Dynasties* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Institute of Chinese Culture, 1966), 1; Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume I*, 288.

⁴⁰ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume I*, 291-293. For details, see chapter 15,

received by the court through the personal welcome of the Prime Minister.⁴¹ They were granted permission to stay, enabling Alopen to translate the scriptures into Chinese and to preach the Christian message.⁴² The emperor issued an edict with funds for the construction of temples for Luminous Religion or Nestorian monasteries. Three years after Alopen's arrival, the first Christian church in China was built in the capital, Xian. The Nestorian documents, "*I-shen-lun*" (which can be translated as *The Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe*) and others, translated by Alopen and his fellow missionaries, appeared in 641.⁴³ There were twenty-one monks, probably all Persian, in China by that time.⁴⁴ Alopen was granted the title of Patriarch of China by the emperor Tai Zong and was allowed to build Nestorian monasteries in all the provinces. The first 48-year period was the golden age of the development of the Nestorianism in China. It earned a strong reputation as "the faith spread throughout the ten districts" and "monasteries abound in a hundred cities."⁴⁵ There are solid records of at least eleven churches or Nestorian monasteries in China in the second half of the seventh century.⁴⁶ In mid-ninth century, there were about 2,000 Nestorian monks in China.⁴⁷ A monument, titled "A Monument Commemorating the Propagation of the Ta-ch'in (Syrian) Luminous Religion in China," was erected in 781, proclaiming the Nestorian conviction of faith and recording the arrival of Alopen in the capital in 635.⁴⁸ This was the first Christian Mission to China. However, the church disappeared with the fall of the Tang dynasty (the greatest dynasty in Chinese history) in 907 after the abdication of the last emperor, a fourteen-year-old boy.⁴⁹

13th Century: The Second Stage of Christian Missions to China

The second Christian mission to China was in the period of the Mongol-dominated Yuan dynasty (1276-1368). As the *pax Romana* had paved the

"The First Christian Mission to China," 287-323.

⁴¹ Chen Kain-fu, *Early History of Christianity in China* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1972), 5.

⁴² Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume I*, 293.

⁴³ Lo, *Nestorianism in the T'ang and Yuan Dynasties*, 1.

⁴⁴ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume I*, 293.

⁴⁵ Lo, *Nestorianism in the T'ang and Yuan Dynasties*, 1-2.

⁴⁶ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume I*, 294.

⁴⁷ H. R. Williamson, *British Baptists in China: 1845-1952* (London, UK: The Carey Kingsgate Press Ltd., 1957), 2.

⁴⁸ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume I*, 288.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 313-314.

way for the work of the apostles in the first century, so the rise of the Mongol Empire in the thirteenth century, a *pax Mongolica*, also opened the door for the second Christian mission to the East.⁵⁰ John of Plano Carpini, a Franciscan, was the first Roman Catholic missionary to reach Mongolia in 1245. John of Montecorvino, a Franciscan, was the first Roman Catholic to arrive at Beijing, the capital of the Yuen dynasty, in 1294.⁵¹ He was also the first Catholic archbishop in China and the last until modern times.⁵² The fall of the Yuen dynasty in 1368, however, brought the second evaporation of the Christian church in China. As Moffett observes, "Asian church history is discouragingly cyclical."⁵³

In the early stage of the establishment of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), the Chinese government adopted the policy of isolationism⁵⁴ in order to exclude all foreign influences in China. As Christianity was identified with the Yuen dynasty, all the churches were inevitably shut down, and all the missionaries were expelled from the country.⁵⁵

16th Century: The Third Stage of Christian Missions to China

After accomplishing the first mission to Japan in 1549, Francis Xavier, the great Spanish Jesuit and the pioneer of the first Christian Mission to the islands, left Goa in 1552 and followed his vision to take the gospel to the very centre of the civilisation of east Asia, the Chinese empire. However, Xavier died on a small island near Macao, within sight of the China coast on December 3, 1552.⁵⁶ Although he was unable to achieve his dream, he is still regarded as the pioneer of the third Christian mission to China. Thirty-some years after Xavier's death, his dream was fulfilled by three

⁵⁰ Ibid., 406.

⁵¹ Ibid., 406-409, 456-459.

⁵² Ibid., 472.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume II: 1500 to 1900*, 106-07.

⁵⁵ Arnulf Camps, "The People's Republic of China: From Foreignness to Contextualization," in *Missiology: An Ecumenical Introduction: Texts and Contexts of Global Christianity*, ed. F. J. Verstraelen [et al.] (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1995), 52.

⁵⁶ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume II: 1500 to 1900*, 105. Theodore M. Hesburgh, President Emeritus, University of Notre Dame, describes that Xavier "returned to Goa in 1552 with a plan to introduce Christianity into China. To gain entrance to that country, which was then closed to foreigners, he persuaded the Portuguese authorities to send an embassy, of which he would be a member, to the Chinese emperor. The embassy departed from Goa in the spring of 1552; it went no farther than Malacca, but Xavier continued the journey alone, arriving at a small island near Macau in August 1552. He died there December 3, that same year." See "Xavier, Saint Francis." Microsoft® Encarta® Online Encyclopedia 2000; available from <http://encarta.msn.com>; Internet; accessed 3 April 2003.

Italian Jesuit pioneers: Matteo Ricci, Alessandro Valignano and Ruggieri, who came to Macau,⁵⁷ a Portuguese settlement. Simply speaking, Valignano was the architect of the structure of Catholic missions for all of northeast Asia, i.e. Japan and Korea. Ruggieri was the first Jesuit to enter mainland China, a forbidden empire. Ricci was the one who shaped the mission and reached the capital of the Ming Dynasty. The estimated Catholic population was about 2,500, representing the fruits of the works of the three Jesuits from 1583 until Ricci's death in 1610 in Beijing. Ricci seemed to be satisfied with his labour and praised God that it was "a very great miracle of God's Almighty hand." He was buried in a piece of land officially granted to the Jesuits near the West Wall by the imperial decree of the emperor.⁵⁸

This third stage of mission to China finally exerted a tremendous impact in Chinese church history and brought a permanent change on the future of East Asia.⁵⁹ It is, therefore, fair to say that the Christian church in Asia nowadays is largely the fruit of Christian missionary effort since the sixteenth century.⁶⁰

Ecclesiological Context of China in the Nineteenth Century

Prior to the Sino-British War (The Opium War) of 1839-1842, eight Protestant missionary societies had begun their efforts to evangelize the Chinese: The London Missionary Society, Netherlands Missionary Society, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, The Protestant Episcopal Church in the USA, Church Missionary Society, The British and Foreign Bible Society, and The American Bible Society.⁶¹ Among all the pioneer Protestant missionaries to China, Robert Morrison, a missionary of The London Missionary Society (LMS), is the one that has to be remembered by all generations of Chinese Christians.

Morrison first arrived at Guangzhou on September 7, 1807. This was definitely an unfavourable time for Christian missionary work. The relationship between the

⁵⁷ Macau, located about sixty miles southwest of Guangzhou, a major foreigner trade center in China, was the first step to establish a beachhead on the south China coast by Portuguese traders in 1557.

⁵⁸ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume II: 1500 to 1900*, 113-14.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 106-11.

⁶⁰ Saphir Athyal, "Introduction," in *Church in Asia Today: Challenges and Opportunities*, ed. Saphir Athyal (Singapore: Asia Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, 1996), 8. For more discussion of the third mission to China, see Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume II: 1500 to 1900*, Chapter 5: Once More to China: "Missionaries and Mandarins"; and Arnulf Camps, 52-54.

⁶¹ Christopher Tang, *The First Hundred Years of Protestant Mission in China* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Tao Sheng Publishing House, 1987), 87.

Chinese government and foreign powers was at a low ebb.⁶² Foreign traders were confined to Macao and only allowed to reside in a district in Guangzhou during the six months trading season each year.⁶³ One of the causes of the severe strain was the imperial edict of 1724, issued by Emperor Yong Zheng, the successor of Kang Xi who died in 1723.⁶⁴ He ordered all missionaries to be isolated in the city of Guangzhou except for those attached to the court for their scientific work.⁶⁵ The emperor officially declared Christianity to be a false religion, an enemy of the greatest of Confucian virtues and filial piety, and promulgated the foolish teaching of God being incarnated as a man.⁶⁶ The edict of 1724 stated two items of prohibition: firstly, Chinese nationals were not allowed to convert to Christianity, and secondly, Chinese nationals were not allowed to teach foreigners Chinese language and literature. The maximum sentence would be the death penalty. All churches in China were confiscated and priests were driven into hiding; and even the Jesuits were not immune from punitive action. The persecution of Chinese Christians ensued and lasted for a century, until the mid-nineteenth century. A large number of Chinese Christians were killed in this period.⁶⁷ During his 27 years' ministry in China, although Morrison baptized only 10 believers, he exerted great influence upon the Christian mission in China.⁶⁸ It was because he devoted his efforts to ministries of Bible translation, Christian literature publication, Christian education, and medical services.⁶⁹ In summary, in 1840 China had 20 missionaries and 100 baptised Christians, which would seem insignificant,⁷⁰ but the ministry at that period laid a significant foundation for the future development of Christianity in China.⁷¹

⁶² Ibid., 89.

⁶³ Williamson, *British Baptists in China: 1845-1952*, 10.

⁶⁴ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume II: 1500 to 1900*, 130; Williamson, *British Baptists in China: 1845-1952*, 6.

⁶⁵ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume II: 1500 to 1900*, 131; Williamson, *British Baptists in China: 1845-1952*, 7.

⁶⁶ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume II: 1500 to 1900*, 131.

⁶⁷ Tang, *The First Hundred Years of Protestant Mission in China*, 89; Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia – Volume II: 1500 to 1900*, 131.

⁶⁸ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 55.

⁶⁹ Tang, *The First Hundred Years of Protestant Mission in China*, 93-95; Marshall Broomhall, *Robert Morrison: A Master-BUILDER* (London, UK: Student Christian Movement, 1927).

⁷⁰ Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (London, UK: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929), 226.

⁷¹ Lam Wing-hung, *A Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900 – 1949* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology, 1998), 5.

Pioneer Baptist Missionaries to China

American Baptists was one of the earliest mission societies sending missionaries to China. It was the third Protestant missionary society and the second organisation from the United States.⁷² The missionary organisation of American Baptists was born in the “General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States for Foreign Missions,” in May of 1814. The assembly was held in Philadelphia and the participants were Baptist delegates from missionary societies, associations, and churches in eleven states and the District of Columbia. Since it was held triennially, it has been known as the Triennial Convention.⁷³ John Lewis Shuck, Issachar Jacob Roberts, and William Dean were the three most famous Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong Baptist history as they were the first group of Baptist pioneer missionaries assigned to China and Thailand about the same period of time. However, they somehow met in Macau and started the historic Protestant mission work in Hong Kong right after the Opium War.

Two days after marrying Henrietta Hall, J. Lewis Shuck was appointed on September 8, 1835, as the first Baptist missionary to China by the Triennial Baptist Convention, under the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. The couple then set off to China from Boston on September 22, 1835.⁷⁴ The Shuck's colleague, William Dean, was appointed as a missionary to Siam in September 1832 and left Boston on July 3, 1834. In Thailand, he worked among the overseas Chinese.⁷⁵

The destination of the Shucks was Guangzhou, the chief city of South China. Since China still adopted the closed-door foreign policy, it was not easy for foreigners to enter Mainland China. J. Lewis and Henrietta Shuck stayed in Singapore for five months, where they studied the Chinese language, Cantonese, the major dialect in Guangdong Province and South China, and waited for further instructions from the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. On August 29, 1836, they started their final 19 days voyage to China and reached the edge of China, Macau. Due to political-religious considerations, they were not welcomed by the Roman Catholic Church and the Portuguese authorities did not grant them right of abode. However,

⁷² Tang, *The First Hundred Years of Protestant Mission in China*, 111.

⁷³ McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage*, 344-45.

⁷⁴ Princeton S. Hsu, ed., *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. V: Biographies of Former Leaders* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1972), 1.

⁷⁵ Princeton S. Hsu, ed., *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. II: Hong Kong and Macau Area* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1972), 211.

the Shucks were received by other Protestant missionaries so that they were able to stay there for seven years, from 1836 to 1842, waiting for the opportunity to enter Guangzhou. In this interval, Shuck made visits to Guangzhou for a field survey and found that it was very unlikely that they could start a ministry there, as foreigners were not allowed to reside in Guangzhou. They then resolved to stay in Macau where they studied Chinese and started educational work for poor children. The first fruit of their ministry there was Yeung Hing, who became the first Chinese Baptist pastor in Macau.⁷⁶

After the Shucks gained a foothold in Macau, Issachar J. Roberts arrived in Macau on May 1, 1837. He was from a wealthy Tennessee family, who had donated US\$30,000 to establish the Roberts Fund Society for evangelism while he had ministered a church in Mississippi. He went to China as the representative of the Society⁷⁷ and a self-supported free Baptist missionary, affiliated with the China Mission Society of Kentucky.⁷⁸ During his seven years in Macau, Roberts was deeply involved in a ministry to leprosy patients, leading to his own infection and death from leprosy at the age of 69 in 1871.⁷⁹ His intention for staying in Macau was the same as Shuck's, namely, to wait for the opportunity to start a ministry in Guangzhou. Shuck and Roberts worked together in Macau until 1842.⁸⁰

The Treaty of Nanjing and Christian Missions in China

The Treaty of Nanjing (1842) after the Britain's defeat of China in the Opium War (1839-1841) was the watershed of modern Christian missions in China. The treaty was signed on August 29, 1842, on board the British warship *Cornwallis* at Nanjing.⁸¹ Article II of the Treaty states:

⁷⁶ Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. V*, 2-3; Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 318-320. Yeung Hing was the one who went to the United States with Shuck in October 1845 and stayed there for two years. See McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage*, 413-414. There is discrepancy in the translation of Yeung's English name. According to McBeth, his name is Seen-sang Yong. Yeung and Yong should be the identical family name in Chinese; however, "Seen-sang" should not be his first name but refers to "Mr". Thus, "Yong Seen-sang" is "Seen-sang Yong," if we put the family name first, which means Mr. Yong.

⁷⁷ Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. V*, 8.

⁷⁸ Couthner and others, *Advance: A History of Southern Baptist Foreign Missions*, 79.

⁷⁹ Lau Yuet-shing, ed., *Guangzhou Jidujiao Gai Kuang Liang Guang Jinxinhui Shi Lue* [An Overview of Protestantism in Guangzhou and the Baptist History in the Provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi,] 2nd & rev. edition (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1997), 409-10; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. V*, 12.

⁸⁰ Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. V*, 8-9.

⁸¹ Shuyong Liu, *An Outline History of Hong Kong*, trans. Wenjiong Wang and Mingyu Chang (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1997), 37.

His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees, that British subjects, with their families and establishments, shall be allowed to reside, for the purpose of carrying on their mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint, at the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Foo chow Foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai; and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., will appoint Superintendents, or Consular Officers, to reside at each of the above-named cities or towns, to be the medium of communication between the Chinese authorities and the said merchants, and to see that the just duties and other dues of the Chinese Government, as hereafter provided for, are duly discharged by Her Britannic Majesty's subjects.⁸²

And Article III of the Treaty says:

It being obviously necessary and desirable that British subjects should have some port whereat they may careen and refit their ships when required, and keep stores for that purpose, His Majesty the Emperor of China cedes to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., the Island of Hong-Kong, to be possessed in perpetuity by Her Britannic Majesty, her Heirs and Successors, and to be governed by such laws and regulations as Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., shall see fit to direct.⁸³

Hong Kong played a significant role in this historic event in two aspects:

Firstly, Hong Kong Island was ceded to the British. Secondly, Hong Kong and the other five ports in China, Guangzhou, Fuzhou, Xiamen, Linbou, and Shanghai, were opened for foreign residence. Although the treaty did not have a clause specifically and directly mentioning Christian mission work in China,⁸⁴ foreigners were granted the right to construct churches in the five ports.⁸⁵ The treaty stipulated that diplomatic relations between Britain and China to be established, that a British consul to be set up in every port and concession area, in which tariff for imports and exports to be fixed,⁸⁶ and that British citizens living in China to be exempted from the Chinese government's jurisdiction.⁸⁷ The door to China was eventually forced open by the Western powers. This, in addition to the above clauses, was only the beginning of the "period of unequal treaties." By 1912, fifty Chinese treaty ports were in the hands of Britain, Germany, France, Portugal, Japan, the United States, and Russia, not only on the coast but also on

⁸² George B. Endacott, *An Eastern Entrepot: A Collection of Documents Illustrating the History of Hong Kong* (London, UK: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1964), 25.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Jonathan Chao, *Chinese Communist Policy toward Christianity* (in Chinese) (Taipei: China Evangelical Seminary Press, 1986), 10; Lam, *A Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900 – 1949*, 5-6.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 10.

⁸⁶ Camps, "The People's Republic of China: From Foreignness to Contextualization," 55

⁸⁷ Lam, *A Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900 – 1949*, 6.

the largest rivers. It is not exaggerated to say “China had become a semi-colonial country.”⁸⁸

Under the pressure of the British and French governments, the imperial edict of 1724 was annulled in 1845. The propagating Christianity by missionaries and the converting to Christianity of local Chinese were no longer illegal. The Treaty of Tienjing (1858) and the Treaty of Beijing allowed foreigners to travel in China, and Western Christians were under the protection of the Chinese government when they carried out evangelism in China. Furthermore, a mistranslation of a clause in the Chinese version of the Treaty of Beijing read that missionaries were given the prerogative of purchasing land for church construction in China. This meant that the door of Christian missions to China was completely forced open.⁸⁹ From 1860 till the end of the nineteenth century, Christianity was seen to be a “protected” religion in China.⁹⁰ As missionaries were allowed to travel freely in China, they were able to promote an intercultural dialogue after they became more familiar with the Chinese traditional society. Initially, missionaries committed themselves to itinerant evangelism and literature ministry and engaged in the ministries of education, medical services, and fighting against poverty afterward, which achieved tremendous well-being for Chinese society.⁹¹

On the one hand, missionaries undoubtedly enjoyed the freedom of propagating the gospel in China under the umbrella of military supremacy of the western powers and according to the privileges of the unequal treaties. On the other hand, the coming of Christianity to China following the colonial pattern of “the Gospel and cannon” actually harmed the evangelistic ministry. Therefore, Christian mission ministry was associated with Western imperialism and colonialism in the minds of many Chinese people, as the former sometimes was used by the latter to achieve their political goals.⁹² A missionary of the LMS expressed his agony when he began his ministry in Hong Kong:

Anyone at all acquainted with the Chinese and their feelings toward

⁸⁸ Camps, “The People’s Republic of China: From Foreignness to Contextualization,” 55.

⁸⁹ Chao, *Chinese Communist Policy toward Christianity*, 10-11; Lam, *A Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900 – 1949*, 6-7.

⁹⁰ Chao, *Chinese Communist Policy toward Christianity*, 11.

⁹¹ Lam, *A Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900 – 1949*, 7. For detailed discussion of the social ministry of Protestant missions in China of this period, see Irwin T. Hyatt, Jr., “Protestant Missions in China (1877-1890): The Institutionalization of Good Works,” in *American Missionaries in China*, ed. Kwang-ching Liu (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), 93-126.

⁹² Lam, *A Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900 – 1949*, 7, 14-16.

Christianity knows that the conduct of the British Government in the opium trade and the war consequent thereon, has been an immense obstacle in the way of the missionary.⁹³

The alliance of “the Gospel and cannon” came to be a source of embarrassment to Christian missionaries in China in the nineteenth century, as it caused criticism and bewilderment among Christians in the West. While the Opium War was in progress, British Christians’ opinion toward the issue was relatively mild, though never uncritical. When the Treaty of Nanjing was signed, the British Christian reaction to the issue was “vociferous and excited.” On the one hand, there was criticism of the war which was regarded as “one of the most lawless, unnecessary, and unfair struggles in the records of History.” On the other, “there was uncontrolled excitement that the treaty guaranteed rights of foreign residence in five ‘treaty ports’.” British Christians were dazzled by the prospects of an opening up China.⁹⁴ Peter Parker defended the British military actions before the United States Congress by claiming that the real objectives of the war were to compensate for the loss of the opium trade and to maintain the security of the British nationals and their properties in the future.⁹⁵ Contrarily, there were protests against the opium trade which was identified as “an obstacle to the gospel as well as a national crime before God.” This argument was that mission work was seriously impeded by the opium trade and fellow missionaries were restrained by the confusion in their role caused by the opium trade when they were trying to share the glory and love of the cross.⁹⁶ In 1856, *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* fiercely and specifically condemned the trade as hindering mission work that “[e]very chest of opium that is smuggled into China...is a stone of stumbling thrown in the missionary’s path.”⁹⁷

Generally speaking, opinions about military force of the western powers among missionaries were divided. Most the missionaries came to China with the spirit of sacrifice and service. However, facing such confusion and embarrassment caused by

⁹³ Letter dated Hong Kong, 10 August 1967, *Archives of the London Missionary Society*, South China, Box 6, Folder 5, Jacket A; cited in Carl T. Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong*, with a foreword by James Hayes (Hong Kong/London/New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 174. For detailed discussion on the difficulties and predicament of the missionaries in Hong Kong were facing due to the unequal treaties and opium war, see Carl T. Smith, *A Sense of History: Studies in Social and Urban History of Hong Kong*, trans. Sung Hung-yiu (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Educational Publishing Co., 1999), 261-81.

⁹⁴ Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag* (Leicester, UK: Apollos, 1990), 106.

⁹⁵ Lam, *A Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900 – 1949*, 15.

⁹⁶ Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, 108.

⁹⁷ *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. II (1856), p. 906; J. A. James, *God’s Voice from China*, 522; cited in Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, 108.

the military force of the West, 'silence is golden' seemed to be the most prudent response.⁹⁸ Brian Stanley offers his comments about British missionary history in regard to the relationship between missions and imperialism in China and the regarding underlying cause of the Western Christian reactions to the Western powers' expansion. Firstly, two dominant but contradictory motifs in the pattern of missionary attitudes are observed:

[E]vangelical missionaries and their domestic supporters were concerned at almost any cost to see the progress of the gospel maintained; and most missionaries cast themselves in the role of defenders of native interests against the exploitative designs of European commercial or political forces.⁹⁹

Secondly, a close association between the coming of Christianity to China and its being forcibly opened up by the powers of Western commercial imperialism was undeniable. The seeming contradictions in Western Christian attitude towards missions and imperialism must be understood in the light of evangelical theology. To a significant extent, the rationale behind the justification of the war represented the evangelical theology of the work of providence in the midst of the missionary movement. In both in Britain and North America, there was the confidence that "there must have been some purpose behind the war of 1839-42" and "some purpose which was consistent with the known character of God's government." Consequently, the Opium War seemed to be "an incontrovertible example of God's characteristic device of using the 'wrath of man to praise him' – God was bending 'the instrumentality of evils which have arisen through the sin of man and the devices of Satan' to his own saving purposes, and thus leading such evils to work out their own eventual destruction."¹⁰⁰

The following is Stanley's lengthy but noteworthy remark that seeks to explain the dilemma faced by Western missionaries in their particular context and their motivation and attitude towards "missions and imperialism," as driven by their evangelistic theology, a logical product of the theology of their era:

The missionary movement was unequivocal in its condemnation of the opium trade, and many Christians (though not all) were prepared to criticize the two wars of 1839-42 and 1858-60 as having no foundation in justice or morality. Yet, almost without exception,

⁹⁸ Lam, *A Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900 – 1949*, 16.

⁹⁹ Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, 110.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 107.

evangelicals accepted the outcome of those wars, believing that God had turned the evil of human design to the good of his saving purposes. Convinced that the gospel was the greatest and only lasting good that Britain could impart to Chinese humanity, Christians confidently deduced divine purpose from the consequences of the wars, and happily dispatched missionaries to work under the imperial umbrella of the 'unequal treaties'. Again it must be emphasized that the weight of responsibility for the eternal destiny of three hundred million Chinese souls was the ultimate moral consideration moving the evangelical conscience. Indeed, it was widely believed that the conversion of China would be the signal for collapse of Satan's defences throughout the globe, and the dawning of millennial glory. The question posed by the Christian history of nineteenth-century China is not so much whether or not missionaries compromised the gospel by collaboration with imperialist oppression, but whether they were justified in discerning the hand and purpose of God in specific historical events. If they were right, collaboration with imperialism was in a meaningful sense a duty imposed by the command of Christ and the claims of humanity.¹⁰¹

A Narrative of Baptists in Hong Kong 1842 – 1984

Hong Kong was occupied by the British in January 1841 and declared a British Colony in June 1843.¹⁰² It was at that time described as "[a] barren island with hardly a house upon it." Later in the nineteenth century, it would become the ideal stepping stone to China because of its geographical location at the south-eastern tip of China and at the centre of East Asia, and also because of its superior deep-water harbour, later named Victoria Harbour, which would be recognized to be one of the best harbours in the world. In fact, the objective of the British occupation of Hong Kong was not to establish a colony for settlers but to establish a military base for the British in the East beyond Singapore as a stepping-stone for the expansion of Sino-British trade.¹⁰³ The primary purpose of the occupation of Hong Kong was "to serve as bases from which British trade could be expanded, protected and

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 109. Two characteristics of Stanley's argument are observed: Firstly, it is consistent with his argument that "the entire modern missionary enterprise is, to a very real extent, a child of the Enlightenment." Collaterally, his argument displays one of the characteristics of the Enlightenment paradigm that is the distinction between fact and value. Since "missions and imperialism" seem to be an inevitable practice for the Christians in the nineteenth century due to the influence of the evangelical theology, he appears to decline to make value judgment on them.

¹⁰² Endacott, *An Eastern Entrepot*, 3.

¹⁰³ Ng Lung Ngai-har, "Di Er Ci Shijian Dazhan Qian Di Xianggang Zhengzhi," ["The Political Structure of Hong Kong before Second World War"] in *Xianggang Zhengzhi Ji Zhengzhi [Political Structure and Politics of Hong Kong]* ed. Joseph Y. S. Cheng (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Cosmos Books Ltd., 1987), 4 -5.

controlled.”¹⁰⁴ In other words, the possession of the island was based on diplomatic, commercial, and military values.¹⁰⁵

The birth of the colony of Hong Kong was constituted by three treaties: The Treaty of Nanjing, ratified in 1842, The Sino-British Treaty of Beijing, ratified in 1860, and the Convention of Beijing, ratified in 1898. In reality, Hong Kong Island was ceded to Great Britain by the first treaty. Eighteen years later, the Kowloon peninsula and Stonecutters Island were also annexed to the British colony, and finally at the end of the nineteenth century, the New Territories, a land area of over 350 square miles, including numerous outlying islands, and a large part of the South China Sea surrounding Hong Kong, was leased to Great Britain for ninety-nine years, until June 30, 1997.¹⁰⁶

Thirteen days after the unfurling of the British flag on Possession Point on Hong Kong Island in 1841, a party of eight Protestant missionaries arrived in Hong Kong from Macau on an exploratory trip. The significance of the island as a Chinese settlement did not impress them, as the estimated population was less than 2,500 and since the inhabitants were very poor. Missionaries during those early colonial days were divided in their views as to the advantages of a British colony as a field for their work.¹⁰⁷ George Smith, who would later become the Anglican Bishop of Hong Kong in 1850, was sent out by Church Missionary Society (CMS) after the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing to tour various cities in China, in order to find the most suitable locations for CMS mission work. Smith rejected Hong Kong as a totally unsuitable choice.¹⁰⁸ Northern cities were considered more suitable, because Western missionaries such as Smith were impressed with the intelligence and friendliness of the people of the north, which westerners generally considered to be the most cultured region of China. Contrarily, the Chinese in Hong Kong were mostly considered to be of the lowest orders.¹⁰⁹ Such a negative attitude towards the people of Hong Kong from Western quarters was no doubt a reason why certain missionary societies

¹⁰⁴ Endacott, *An Eastern Entrepot*, vi.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, vi-xvi.

¹⁰⁶ Liu, *An Outline History of Hong Kong*, 23-74; Peter Wesley-Smith, *Unequal Treaty 1898-1997: China, Great Britain, and Hong Kong's New Territories*, rev. edition (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1998), 1.

¹⁰⁷ Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 173.

¹⁰⁸ George B. Endacott and Dorothy E. She, *The Diocese of Victoria, Hong Kong: A Hundred Years of Church History 1849-1949* (Hong Kong: Messrs. Kelly & Walsh Ltd., 1949), 2.

¹⁰⁹ For George Smith's comment on Hong Kong, see Endacott and She, *The Diocese of Victoria, Hong Kong*, 6-9; Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 173-74.

were slow to establish mission work on this tiny island.

A year later, the first missionary did take up permanent residence in Hong Kong in February 1842. Issachar Jacob Roberts was not from Great Britain, the nation that had recently acquired sovereignty over Hong Kong, but was instead from the United States. After Henry Pottinger, the plenipotentiary to China and Chief Superintendent of Trade, reaffirmed Hong Kong's status as a free port on February 16, 1842,¹¹⁰ Roberts immediately moved from Macau to Hong Kong to become the first missionary to reside in the new colony. A month later, he was joined by John Lewis Shuck and his wife, Henrietta.¹¹¹ In the meantime, William Dean was forced by poor health to transfer from Bangkok to another field. He arrived in Macau in 1842 and visited Hong Kong, Chusan and Amoy, in search of a new mission field. Judging Hong Kong to be an ideal place for his health, Dean and his family moved to there in October 1842, joining the Shucks and Roberts.¹¹² These missionaries were writing the first pages of Protestant missionary history in Hong Kong. Lewis and Henrietta Shuck established the first Baptist church, Queen's Road Baptist Church with five members on May 5, 1842, within two months of their arrival.¹¹³ Roberts was stationed in the fishing village on the southern part of the island.¹¹⁴ William and Theodosia Dean founded a Swatow Baptist church on May 28, 1843.¹¹⁵

In summary, Baptist missionaries were the first Protestants to establish mission work in colonial Hong Kong after the Opium War. In retrospect, it was by no means an easy path for the gospel to reach Hong Kong. Morrison, sponsored by the LMS, had been the first Protestant missionary to China, arrived at Guangzhou in 1807, while his colleague, William Milne, a British Baptist, arrived in Macau in 1813. The first Chinese baptized by Morrison was Tsae A-ko (Choi A-ko), converted in 1814, in Macau. Leung A-Fa was the second Chinese converted by Morrison and baptised by Milne in 1816, in Malacca. He was ordained as the first Chinese preacher by Morrison in 1827. The first Chinese church in China was founded in 1820 at Leung A-Fa's home, in fact a house church, in Guangdong.¹¹⁶ There were only ten baptized Chinese Protestants in China in 1832. When Lewis Shuck arrived in Macau in 1836,

¹¹⁰ Liu, *An Outline History of Hong Kong*, 35-36.

¹¹¹ Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 2.

¹¹² Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 321.

¹¹³ Tang, *The First Hundred Years of Protestant Mission in China*, 205.

¹¹⁴ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 71.

¹¹⁵ Tang, *The First Hundred Years of Protestant Mission in China*, 195.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 131.

the total number of Chinese baptized Protestants was 12.¹¹⁷ The first group of Baptist missionaries arrived at Hong Kong some forty years after the arrival of Morrison. Although the Baptist Missionary Society in Britain was unable to send missionaries to Hong Kong, a newly established British colony, due to the financial problem, the society did make an offering of £500 from its Jubilee Fund to the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, which had launched its mission work in colonial Hong Kong.¹¹⁸

The Early Stage of Hong Kong Baptist Ministry 1842 – 1900

The early stage of Hong Kong Baptist history can be divided into two periods: the beginning period, from 1842 to 1860, and the struggling period, from 1861 to 1900.

1842-1860: The Beginning Period – According to the Treaty of Nanjing, the missionaries were not allowed to abide in Hong Kong until the terms of the Treaty between China and Great Britain had been fixed, signed, and ratified, and made operative.¹¹⁹ On June 26, 1843, China and Britain ratified the Treaty of Nanjing.¹²⁰ However, as stated above, Roberts immediately moved from Macau, about thirty miles west of Hong Kong, after Henry Pottinger, the plenipotentiary to China and Chief Superintendent of Trade, reaffirmed Hong Kong's status as a free port on February 16, 1842. Thus, Roberts became the first missionary to reside in Hong Kong and was joined by the Shucks a month later. The Shucks arrived at Hong Kong on March 18, 1842, from Macau after over 12 hours of surface travel.¹²¹ On October 24 of the same year, the Deans also moved from Macau.¹²² They were the first group of Protestant missionaries to take up permanent residence in Hong Kong, and also the pioneers of the Baptist movement in Hong Kong.

The outset of the mission project was not totally smooth, and the relationship between Roberts and Shuck was somehow strained, according to Carl Smith, even

¹¹⁷ Princeton S. Hsu, ed., *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. I* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1972), 6.

¹¹⁸ Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792-1992* (Edinburgh, UK: T & T Clark, 1992), 175, 177.

¹¹⁹ Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 2.

¹²⁰ Liu, *An Outline History of Hong Kong*, 38.

¹²¹ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 69.

¹²² Ibid., 75; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. II*, 212.

though no detail is recorded.¹²³ Roberts moved to the village of Stanley, the southern part of the island, while Shuck worked in Victoria town, the northern part of the island, which was the central part of the town.¹²⁴ After settling down, Shuck set up a preaching point to share the gospel and began earning his livelihood as the part time deputy editor of a local newspaper, *Friend of China*.¹²⁵ Shuck's first objective was to construct a church building. A piece of land was granted by the colonial government on the seashore at Queen's Road at the junction of the present Ice House Street, Central. Henry Pottinger, Hong Kong's first governor, and the British Naval Commander, each donated £50 for the construction of the church building, which was to be the first Baptist church as well as the first Protestant church on the island.¹²⁶ On May 15, 1842, Queen's Road Baptist Church was formally organised with five charter members and Shuck as pastor. The church building was dedicated on July 17 and four Americans and Europeans were added to the church's membership. Services in the church were in English and Chinese.¹²⁷ Later, Shuck built three more chapels, two in Victoria Town and one in Stanley for Roberts' congregation, one school, and a missionary quarter, all having been completed within the first year of arrival,¹²⁸ with three eighths of the total construction cost of the quarters being at his own expense.¹²⁹ Shuck had a very busy ministry, including more than thirty Chinese services a week.¹³⁰ In April 1843, Queen's Road Baptist Church had nine western (members) and three Chinese members.¹³¹

Meanwhile, Roberts lived in a house at Stanley, where the British army was stationed, and where Swatow-speaking fishermen gathered. Roberts was famous for his linguistic talent and was able to speak fluent Swatow dialect. He started a children's ministry and held Chinese and English services at his house until the new

¹²³ Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 2-3.

¹²⁴ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 69.

¹²⁵ Lau Yuet-shing, *Xianggang Jidu Jiaohui Shi* [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], rev. edition (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1996), 12.

¹²⁶ Lee Kam-keung, *Independence and Concerns: A Hundred-Year History of Hong Kong Baptist Church 1901-2001* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Commercial Press HK, 2002), 3; Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 70.

¹²⁷ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 70-71.

¹²⁸ Lau, *Xianggang Jidu Jiaohui Shi* [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], 311.

¹²⁹ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 319.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 71.

¹³¹ Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 3. The three Chinese members were: Chan Dun-cheuk, Chan Kwun-pok, and Chan Chuen, all Swatow-speaking. See *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan* [Special Memorial Issue for the Twentieth Anniversary of The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong), 1958, 37.

church building was completed by Shuck.¹³² Dean's ministry team included his wife Theodosia and Hok Heng, his assistant who had followed him from Bangkok. He organised a separate Swatow-speaking congregation of three members¹³³ two months after his wife died of smallpox on March 29, 1843.¹³⁴ This would become the first Swatow Baptist church in Hong Kong, officially dedicated on May 28, 1843. This new congregation probably gathered in the premises of Queen's Road Baptist Church until it was later moved to become the Bazaar chapel. The average attendance of the church was between 30 and 50, consisting of poor, illiterate labourers. Dean also sponsored a school near the Western Market. The Swatow-speaking population was his major target group, and his ministry extended to Stanley, to the village of To Kwa Wan on Kowloon Peninsula, and to outlying islands, including Ping Chau and Cheung Chau. On July 6, 1843, Dean and Hok Heng first visited Cheung Chau, an island west of Hong Kong, still under the sovereignty of the Chinese government. In 1852, the Cheung Chau Baptist Church became the second Baptist church to be built in Hong Kong. This church was basically Swatow-speaking.¹³⁵

Christian education was one of the focuses of the Shuck's ministry.¹³⁶ Shuck began his mission by setting up a school, where he taught twelve students.¹³⁷ On March 1, 1844, his wife, Henrietta, opened an English-speaking boarding school for girls with fifteen pupils enrolled.¹³⁸ When the boarding school became full, Henrietta Shuck sought community support for the projected new school premises. Since the response was overwhelming, the building, located at Hollywood Road in

¹³² Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. V*, 4-7; Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 71-72; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 19.

¹³³ Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 3.

¹³⁴ Tang, *The First Hundred Years of Protestant Mission in China*, 111. There was an outbreak of influenza epidemic and dysentery in Hong Kong in 1843. Theodosia Dean suffered complications of smallpox. Theodosia, a native British, not a Baptist missionary, was the second wife of Dean, and they met during Dean's service in Bangkok from 1835-42. See Lila Watson, ed., *Pioneers of Christian Education in Hong Kong: Biographies of Mrs. Shuck & Mrs. Wong* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1955), 25-32; Princeton S. Hsu, ed., *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches--Vol. V*, 4-6. In fact, the humid heat weather and bad hygienic conditions in Hong Kong did cause some missionary's wives deceased when they were young, including the wives of William Dean, John W. Johnson, and William Ashmore. See Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 65-67; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 21. For the bad hygienic conditions of early Hong Kong, see Tsai Jung-fang, *The Hong Kong People's History of Hong Kong: 1841-1945* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2001), 21-25.

¹³⁵ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 75-76; Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 3; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 19.

¹³⁶ Education and medicine were the main areas among American mission advocates. See Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 294.

¹³⁷ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 72.

¹³⁸ Lau, *Xianggang Jidu Jiaohui Shi [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches]*, 12.

Victoria Town was completed and dedicated on September 23, 1844, with a full capacity of 50 pupils. The death of Henrietta in November of the same year struck a fatal blow to the church and the school.¹³⁹ Henrietta Shuck, who was the first western lady and first female missionary to come to Hong Kong and who was the founder of the first boarding school in Hong Kong, became also the first Baptist missionary to die in Hong Kong. At the age of twenty-seven, she was buried in the cemetery for foreigners at Happy Valley on Hong Kong Island.¹⁴⁰

In order to offer better arrangements for his five motherless children, Shuck was forced to return to the United States with the children in October 1845, accompanied by Yeung Hing, who was his first convert in China, his Chinese language teacher, and the first Chinese Baptist pastor in China. As a result of this trip, Shuck was appointed by the recently formed Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention to be a Southern Baptist missionary to China.¹⁴¹ When Shuck and Yeung returned to China two years later, Shuck was transferred to a new mission field, Shanghai and Guangzhou.¹⁴² The Cantonese gathering at Queen's Road Baptist Church and the boarding school were closed due to Shuck's departure.¹⁴³

Before Shuck's return to the United States, Roberts had left for Guangzhou on May 15, 1844.¹⁴⁴ Shuck later joined him to start the ministry in Guangzhou. Yeung Hing, originally from Macau was invited to be their co-worker. Thus, the first

¹³⁹ Watson, *Pioneers of Christian Education in Hong Kong: Biographies of Mrs. Shuck & Mrs. Wong* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1955), 60-62; Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 73.

¹⁴⁰ Lau, *Xianggang Jidu Jiaohui Shi*, [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches] 12-13, 360. Henrietta Shuck owned "four firsts" in Hong Kong church history: She was the first western lady arrived in Hong Kong; she was the first female missionary to Hong Kong; she was the founder of the first girl boarding-school in Hong Kong; she was the first Baptist missionary to die in Hong Kong, at the age of 27.

¹⁴¹ There was a schism among American Baptists in May 1845 and the Southern Baptist Convention was born. Undoubtedly, slavery was regarded as the final and most decisive factor that led Southern Baptists to form their own convention. A consultative meeting was called by the Virginia Baptists on May 8, 1845, and delegates from various Baptists bodies met in Augusta, Georgia. Although it was hardly a representative assembly, 273 out of 293 attendees came from the three states of Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia, a resolution in the meeting of Augusta of 1845 marked the schism of the Baptist denomination. The Southern Baptist Convention was officially established and numbered 4,126 churches and 351,951 members in 1845. In 1845, the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention officially adopted China as the major mission field of Southern Baptists for the rest of the century. For details, see McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage*, 381-91, 414-19.

¹⁴² Lila Watson, ed., *Brief Historical Sketches of Baptist Missions in China 1836-1936*, trans. C. C. Shao, rev. Princeton S. Hsu, 2nd Chinese ed. (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1970), 9; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 20-21.

¹⁴³ Lau, *Xianggang Jidu Jiaohui Shi* [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], 311; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 21.

¹⁴⁴ Tang, *The First Hundred Years of Protestant Mission in China*, 112.

Baptist church in China was established in Guangzhou in 1844 and named The First Baptist Church. Roberts continued his ministry in China and did not return to the mission field of Hong Kong.¹⁴⁵ During the absence of Shuck and Roberts, the ministry in Hong Kong taken over by Dean and his fellow American Baptist, Dr. T. T. Devan, a medical missionary who arrived in Hong Kong in October 1844 and opened a dispensary in Kowloon City. However, this was a short-lived ministry, as Dr. Devan returned to the United States a year later.¹⁴⁶

After Shuck and Roberts decided to join the Southern Baptists, their target mission field was transferred to China from Hong Kong. Therefore, the burden of Baptist mission work in the colony was solely on Dean's shoulder. Since Dean mainly concentrated on the Swatow-speaking population, the Cantonese-speaking ministry in Hong Kong was declining. In 1857, the Cantonese ministry of Queen's Road Baptist Church formally terminated.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, Dean's poor health was a crucial factor in making the Swatow ministry also looked dim. Dean was forced in September 1848 to take a one-year retreat at Linbou, a seaport in central China. Some American Baptist missionaries came to Hong Kong for reinforcement before Dean's retreat, and John W. Johnson took over Dean's ministry during his absence. However, Dean was never to resume much of his mission work in Hong Kong after his return but shifted his concentration to Bible translation.¹⁴⁸

During this period, the Swatow-speaking services at Queen's Road and at the Bazaar chapel remained in good shape, with minimum attendance of 60 and 40, respectively. Some progress was achieved in two new projects on Kowloon Peninsula.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the American Baptist mission work appeared unable to take root in Hong Kong due to the limited Swatow dialect used by the missionaries. Since they spoke Swatow and not Cantonese, their outreach capability was limited, as the Swatow-speaking population was a minority in Hong Kong.

Meanwhile, the American Baptist missionaries were more concerned with the

¹⁴⁵ Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. V*, 9-11.

¹⁴⁶ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 74-75; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 19-20; Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 3.

¹⁴⁷ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 76; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 20-21.

¹⁴⁸ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 76-77, 321; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. II*, 213-14.

¹⁴⁹ A mission school was sponsored at To Kwa Wan in 1847, with about 20 pupils. A new chapel was started at Tsim Sha Tsui in 1849. The old Stanley chapel was still operated by an indigenous Swatow preacher. See Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 77-80.

ministry in the Swatow area in China, the coastal area in the eastern part of Guangdong Province, as they were experts in Swatow-speaking ministry in China and Burma. Thus, the American Baptist Missionary Board at home took serious steps to open the Swatow Baptist Mission and moved all Hong Kong missionaries there. After Johnson had stayed in the United States for a year and returned in 1859 to Hong Kong with a new missionary, H. A. Sawtelle, he found that half of the church members had moved to Swatow and some of the Chinese assistants were employed by other missions. Therefore, these developments led Johnson to decide to move to Swatow himself in July 1860. The new mission work was started in the Swatow area in 1861. After the termination of the Baptist Cantonese missions in Hong Kong in 1857, the Baptist Swatow missions also shifted to Mainland China three years later. Finally, the American Baptist Missionary Board sold all its properties in Hong Kong before its withdrawal in 1861.¹⁵⁰ Then, Swatow became “the centre of South China Mission” of the American Baptists, and Hong Kong became an “out station.”¹⁵¹ Although there were no more Baptist missionaries in the colony at that time, the mission stations at Cheung Chau, Stanley, To Kwa Wan, and Tsim Sha Tsui continued to be operated by indigenous pastoral assistants, supported by the Swatow Baptist Mission. The school ministry at Kowloon was supported by the local members. Thus, the Baptist ministry in the territory did not come to a total halt and the American Baptist mission work did not completely disconnect from the ministry in Hong Kong.¹⁵²

1861-1900: The Struggling Period – After the move of the American Baptist missionaries, Baptist missions in Hong Kong entered what can be considered “a dark-age.” For a long period of time, Hong Kong appeared to have vanished into thin air with no report about the colony to be found in *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, a publication of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society. Nevertheless, the memory of the colony as a place in need of mission work lingered among those American Baptist missionaries who had served in Hong Kong earlier.¹⁵³ However, various practical problems were encountered, such as absence of an ordained

¹⁵⁰ Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 77-80.

¹⁵¹ Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 22.

¹⁵² Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 80; Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 3; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 21-22.

¹⁵³ Many missionaries visited the colony either by special arrangements or on their way to or from the United States. Some suggestions of re-initiation of missions in Hong Kong were raised and William Dean’s was one of them. See Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 80-81.

indigenous pastor and the lack of a gathering place. Both missionaries and Chinese members regretted that the church properties were sold in 1861. The Swatow-speaking congregation assembled in a church of The London Missionary Society where they received pastoral care. Later they gathered in a wealthy member's home. However, the problem of venue for the gathering re-emerged after the wealthy member moved back to Swatow in 1873.¹⁵⁴ During this most difficult period, missionaries of various denominations offered pastoral assistance upon request. Lechler, a Basel missionary, provided spiritual nourishment and Rosewell H. Graves,¹⁵⁵ a Southern Baptist missionary from Guangzhou, officiated at the Lord's Supper quarterly. It is believed that by that time the ministry at Stanley, To Kwa Wan, and Tsim Sha Tsui had been terminated, as the Chinese assistants had moved to Swatow. The only remaining gospel points were Victoria and Cheung Chau.¹⁵⁶

This unfavourable dark period lasted for more than a decade. After the death of Johnson, an American Baptist missionary, in Swatow on October 21, 1872, his widow returned to Hong Kong around 1875 to fulfil of her husband's last wish that she resumed the American Baptist mission work in Hong Kong. She organized a school for girls at Hollywood Road and was active in the affairs of the congregation. Tang Si-deng, an indigenous Chinese, was employed as teacher and preacher, and the church met at a chapel of The London Missionary Society every Sunday. Through the commitment of Mrs. Johnson, and the spiritual nourishment of Graves and Ezekias Z. Simmons, his fellow Southern Baptist missionary in Guangzhou, the Baptist missions in Hong Kong appeared to revive. In his writing in August 1878 in Guangzhou, Graves expressed his appreciation and pleasure with the work done by Mrs. Johnson and her assistants, and reported that the attendance of the church in Hong Kong was about 50.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ The congregation had good attendance, from 40 to 100, including inquirers when missionaries visited them. It was reported that 14 members were observing the Lord's Supper when Dean visited them in 1870. See Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 81.

¹⁵⁵ Rosewell H. Graves was one of the Southern Baptist missionaries involved in the revival of the Cantonese ministry in Hong Kong who served the Baptist community in southern China for 56 years. He is described as "the chief pillar" of the Southern Baptist mission work in South China since the second half of the 19th century. For details, see Winston Crawley, *Partners Across the Pacific: China and Southern Baptists: Into the Second Century* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1986), 39-44; Lau, *Guangzhou Jidujiao Gai Kuang Liang Guang Jinxinhui Shi Lue*, [An Overview of Protestantism in Guangzhou and the Baptist History in the Provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi,] 422-27.

¹⁵⁶ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 80-82.

¹⁵⁷ Lau, *Guangzhou Jidujiao Gai Kuang Liang Guang Jinxinhui Shi Lue*, [An Overview of Protestantism in Guangzhou and the Baptist History in the Provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi,]

Advancing age forced Mrs. Johnson to make plans to return to the Netherlands, her native land. She seriously considered the future of the Baptist ministry and had a meeting with Simmons and William Ashmore, an American Baptist missionary in the Swatow area. Originally, Mrs. Johnson wished that American Baptist missionaries could take care of the ministry in Hong Kong. However, Ashmore declined the invitation, as it would be too far and too expensive for the missionaries to travel to Hong Kong from Swatow. The greatest difficulty, however, was the language barrier, since the fact that most of the missionaries in Swatow did not speak Cantonese would be a serious hindrance to the ministry. Finally, they agreed that the mission work would be handed over to the Southern Baptist missionaries in Guangzhou. Upon the formal approval of the Southern Baptist Convention, Simmons took over the mission in March 1881, and Mrs. Johnson left for the Netherlands the same year.¹⁵⁸

While awaiting further instructions from the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Simmons employed Chinese assistants for the ministry in Victoria and Cheung Chau to stabilize the situation during this transitional period. However, he requested the congregation to assume responsible for the rent of the gathering place. After Graves returned from a year furlough in 1882, he further challenged the congregations to become financially self-supporting. In late 1884, Simmons proposed a bilingual approach. The adoption of his proposal would come to be regarded as the most critical decision affecting the future development of the Baptist ministry in Hong Kong. He observed that most of the Swatow members knew Cantonese and the church accepted quite a few Cantonese members; he expressed his conviction that the church would grow rapidly if both Swatow and Cantonese were used in the services. As a result of Simmon's proposal, the Baptist churches in Hong Kong resumed the Cantonese service after its termination for some twenty years. Simmons' other significant decision was to establish a relationship with the overseas Chinese in the United States. The Baptist church in Hong Kong began to receive support from the Chinese Baptists in Portland, Oregon. In fact, the overseas offering was a great help in securing the development of the Baptist ministry in Hong Kong. Later, the church was strengthened by a large number of Chinese Baptists returning from California. Not surprisingly, Simmons has been described as

250-51; Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 82-84; Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 3.

¹⁵⁸ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 84-85; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 23.

a missionary with a strong indigenous sense.¹⁵⁹

There is no exact record containing the date of the formal adoption of Cantonese as a language to be used in services. There seemed to have been a process of transition between 1884 and 1900, during which time, the members of the congregation were gradually shifting from the Swatow dialect to Cantonese.¹⁶⁰ Due to the political instability in China, a large number of people from the North poured into the colony, resulting in a shortage of housing and causing rents to skyrocket. The church moved three times within the decade from 1884 to 1894. Since 1886, as more overseas Chinese returned to Hong Kong from the United States, the congregation felt that it was better to move back to the central area of Victoria. By that time, the congregation was Cantonese speaking and financially more stable. In 1892, the church was located in Queen's Road Central again.¹⁶¹ Two years later, the church was moved to Gage Street. When a wealthy and devoted Christian, Mrs. Vanderpool of New York, visited the church in 1896, she challenged the church to erect a permanent building so that the ministry could be further developed. She pledged to donate funds for this project. After the church secured a house in 1899 on Bailey Street, Mrs. Vanderpool came back in 1900 to supervise the furnishing of the church.¹⁶² Upon the project's completion in November 1901, the church was formally organized on December 19, 1901, as Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church (hereafter named Hong Kong Baptist Church), with 28 charter members.¹⁶³ Rosewell H. Graves was invited to speak at the opening service of the new chapel. He preached on "Marks of a True Church: Its Foundation, Growth, Harmony and the Spirit Dwelling Place" (Ephesians 2:20-22). Representatives of five missions in Hong Kong attended.¹⁶⁴ When the church was officially established in 1901, the congregation called the Rev. Tong Kit-hing as their first pastor. He had for many

¹⁵⁹ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 85-86, 325; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 23.

¹⁶⁰ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 86; Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 3.

¹⁶¹ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 86-87; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 23-24.

¹⁶² Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 87; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 42-43.

¹⁶³ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 86-87; Lau, *Guangzhou Jidujiao Gai Kuang Liang Guang Jinxinhui Shi Lue*, [An Overview of Protestantism in Guangzhou and the Baptist History in the Provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi] 251-52; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 43; Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 3.

¹⁶⁴ Rosewell H. Graves, "A Heart Full of Gratitude," *Foreign Mission Journal*, vol. 52, no. 10 (April 1902) 324; cited in Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 88; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 43.

years served Chinese Baptist churches in Portland and San Francisco.¹⁶⁵ This church is the present Hong Kong Baptist Church on Caine Road, Hong Kong Island.

In summary, the importance of the newborn church in Hong Kong is threefold: Firstly, it was the fruit of a co-operative ministry of American Baptist and Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong and South China, as they took up the responsibility alternatively for the Baptist mission work in the colony. Secondly, the newly born church undoubtedly represented the end of a period of struggle for the Baptist mission in the colony. Finally, the birth of the first independent Baptist church in Hong Kong was mainly an endeavour of indigenous Chinese Baptists.

The Developing Stage of Hong Kong Baptist Ministry 1901 – 1949

As stated in the previous section, the Baptist mission work can be regarded as a co-operative ministry of the American Baptist and Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong and South China. The American Baptist missionaries maintained the Baptist ministry when the Southern Baptist missionaries went northward. Later, the Southern Baptists took up the responsibility when their fellow American Baptist missionaries were unable to continue their ministry in Hong Kong. One of the outcomes of the Southern Baptist mission work was the resumption of Cantonese ministry after a two-decade halt. The establishment of Hong Kong Baptist Church in 1901 represents the first fruit of the Baptist mission, and the church would continue to play a leading role in the developing stage of the Baptist movement in Hong Kong.

Since its establishment, Hong Kong Baptist Church has exemplified three noteworthy features of a strong indigenous church: “self-governing,” “self-supporting,” and “self-propagating.”¹⁶⁶ Although the Southern Baptist

¹⁶⁵ In fact, this congregation has been served by Cantonese pastors since 1887. The first Cantonese pastor in this period was the Rev. Fung Wood-chuen who returned from the United States. The pastor who had been in charge, a Swatow-speaking pastor named Tang Si-Deng, was transferred to Cheung Chau. He served there until 1889 and returned to Swatow afterwards. The shortage of full-time preachers was a blow to the ministry in Cheung Chau. After the resignation of the Rev. Fung, who went northward to serve Baptists in Guangzhou, Tso Fat-Suen and Chan Mui-Yuk were hired as the successors. See Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 87-88, 326; Lau, *Guangzhou Jidujiao Gai Kuang Liang Guang Jinxinhui Shi Lue*, [An Overview of Protestantism in Guangzhou and the Baptist History in the Provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi], 251-52, 433; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 43-45.

¹⁶⁶ The “three-self’s” were raised in the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, 1877. The idea aimed at indigenisation of the churches in China. It is a process of gradual transference of the responsibilities from the missionaries to the indigenous Chinese Christians, in terms of finance, personnel, and resources, and its long term objective is to achieve enculturation. See Chao, *Chinese Communist Policy toward Christianity*, 97-98. David Bosch elucidates the idea of “three-self’s” in the

missionaries took over the mission responsibility in Hong Kong in the late nineteenth century, they did not act in a dominant way. The Rev. Paul Y. K. Wong, former Pastor-in-charge of Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1958-1978, claims that "Southern Baptists started missions in Hong Kong, though only nominally. It turned all local responsibilities over to Hong Kong Baptists during this new age."¹⁶⁷ Wong's observation seems justifiable, since the original name of the church, the Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church reflects the church's dynamic nature and seems to be self-explanatory in describing its strong sense of independence and its successful efforts for indigenization by promulgating the concept of self-governing. As a matter of fact, the Hong Kong-Macao Baptist Mission did not even exist until May 1952. Already, the commitment of Southern Baptist missionaries to the ministry in Hong Kong had been established on a fraternal basis during the first half of the twentieth century. Park H. Anderson, a former Southern Baptist missionary depicts Hong Kong Baptist Church as one of the strongest in South China and among the most liberal, considering its initiative to decide on its own direction.¹⁶⁸ He explains that this was because all the Baptist churches in South China, "except the one in Hong Kong, had been organized under the direction of missionaries."¹⁶⁹

The feature of "self-supporting" was well embodied by the church members' financial commitment to their chapel's construction. When Hong Kong Baptist Church was established in 1901, the meeting place was on the ground floor of the new chapel. The two upper floors were let out and the rent was used to pay the pastor's salary and other church expenses. Ten years later, the building was sold and a better property was secured on Hollywood Road. As the financial condition of the church improved, it was no longer necessary to rent any part of the building as a financial source. The church stayed at this location for another decade and moved to the present location on Caine Road in 1920. The amount of HK\$29,500 received from

West in the nineteenth century were "self-governing, self-expanding, and self-supporting," which were enthusiastically discussed among the western churches. Indigenisation was an official policy of every Protestant mission organization. He points out the need for inculturation is that the "Christian faith must be rethought, reformulated and lived a new in each human culture, and this must be done in a *vital* way, in depth and right to the cultures' roots." See Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 294-95, 452. For detailed discussion of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, 1877, see Tang, *The First Hundred Years of Protestant Mission in China*, 643-60.

¹⁶⁷ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 89.

¹⁶⁸ Park H. Anderson, *"He Knoweth Not How": A Story of Chinese Baptist Initiative ... for the Information of Baptists and Others* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1936), 53.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 61.

the sale of the old property and the funds raised by the church itself, with the addition of a personal offering of HK\$10,000 made by Deacon Wong Kwok-shuen in accord with his father's will, the new church was debt free when it was completed in 1922. The total cost of the chapel was \$HK 93, 000 for the purchase of the land and the construction. It is interesting to note that this sanctuary was the first building primarily designed and constructed for church purposes in Baptist history in Hong Kong.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, the church's financial data for the first three decades also signifies its effort to be self-supporting. In its first two decades, the annual expenses of the church were around HK\$1,000. Before moving to the new building in 1923, the annual expenses had increased to more than HK\$4,000, and then to more than HK\$7,000 in the early 1930's.¹⁷¹

Another feature of the sense of independence and indigenization was expressed on the issue of the Lord's Supper. Due to the missionaries' influence, Baptist churches in South China had practised "closed communion" from the very beginning of Baptist history in China, that is, non-Baptists were not allowed to take part in the communion at Baptist churches. According to Anderson, since inter-marriage (marriage between different denominations) was common at Hong Kong Baptist Church, the practice of closed communion became a controversy at the church for the first two decades. Baptist wives demanded "open communion" so that their non-Baptist husbands could have opportunity to share in the Lord's Supper. This idea was strongly seconded by Baptist husbands whose wives were non-Baptists. The church was in a state of agitation until a vote was proposed. By a small majority the church voted in favour of open communion. The pastor, who was opposed to open communion, resigned, and a schism was about to break out. In order to avoid the split, the church came up with a resolution that non-Baptists would not be actively invited to partake of the Lord's Supper, but they would not be excluded if they desired to do so. The pastor withdrew his resignation and the crisis was resolved.¹⁷²

The next expression of the church's indigenized character has to do with self-propagation. This particular Baptist church almost single-handedly bore most of the responsibility for Baptist missions in the colony, even after the establishment of

¹⁷⁰ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 93-94; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 70-71.

¹⁷¹ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 94-95; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 71.

¹⁷² Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 93.

the Hong Kong Baptist Association in 1938. Within the first half of the twentieth century, twelve important outreach missions were launched by the church, which signified the development of the Baptist movement in Hong Kong. The mission development of the church can be classified into four stages with intervals of a decade for each stage.

In the first decade of its ministry, 1901-1910, four gospel points were established: Yau Ma Tei (1902), Aberdeen (1905), Shiqi (in Guangdong, China) (1909), and Cheung Chau (1910). In the second decade of the ministry, 1911-1920, the church extended its mission work into another three areas: Wenchang (or Man Cheong) (on Hainan Island, China) (1911), Hung Hom (1912), and Macau (1919). In the third decade of its ministry, 1921-1930, two additional chapels were founded at Shau Kei Wan (1921) and at Tsim Sha Tsui (1926). In the fourth decade of its ministry, 1931-1940, four more mission projects were conducted in the districts of Kowloon City (1931), Wan Chai (1934), Happy Valley (1938), and Shau Ki Wan (1940 – There was a resumption of the mission previously halted in 1925). Aberdeen Baptist Church, the second mission point set up by Hong Kong Baptist Church, was the second Baptist church in Hong Kong to carry out the practice of church planting. The Aberdeen church established chapels on Aplichau (1936) and in Sai Kung (1947). Kowloon City Baptist Church was responsible for setting up a chapel at Sham Shui Po (1949).¹⁷³

In the second half of the twentieth century, the mission work of the churches moved into top gear. In the first decade, six more chapels were founded in the following locations: Tsuen Wan (1953), Causeway Bay (1954), Shek O (1956), Stanley (1956), Western District (1957), Leighton Road (English Speaking–1957), Wan Chai (1958 –This chapel had first been opened in 1934 but closed down the following year), Leighton Road (Cantonese speaking–1959), and Sheung Wan (1962). The driving force of this wave of church expansion was initiated by a joint-project between the Hong Kong-Macao Mission of the Foreign Mission Board, the Southern Baptist Convention, and the Baptist Association. The Mission provided the financial and

¹⁷³ For details, see Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 95-108; Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 72-79; "Hong Kong Baptist Church," (1958) 37-39; Lau, *Guangzhou Jidujiao Gai Kuang Liang Guang Jinxinhui Shi Lue* [An Overview of Protestantism in Guangzhou and the Baptist History in the Provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi] 254, 259-65, 273-74; Lau, *Xianggang Jidu Jiaohui Shi* [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], 133-34, 136-44, 161-62; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. II*, 36, 50-53, 127.

personnel resources, and Hong Kong Baptist Church was invited by the Baptist Association to assume the role of the mother church.¹⁷⁴ From the 1950s through the 1970s, Hong Kong Baptist Church continued to carry out local and overseas mission projects by its own effort. Three chapels were set up in the territory: one in Henrietta School (1959), one at Stanley Prison (1969, but terminated in 1974), and one at Baptist Assembly at Fan Ling (1970). During that period, three chapels became independent, including Wan Chai (1961), Leighton Road (Cantonese-speaking – 1964), and Shau Kei Wan (1970).¹⁷⁵ In summary, ten chapels were founded by the church in Hong Kong in the first half of the twentieth century, and twelve chapels were set up in the following three decades.

In addition to local mission work, an overseas mission reserve fund was set up in 1959 in order to sponsor Chinese Baptist mission work in South Africa, Singapore and South Vietnam (cancelled due to the political instability). A large scale of joint mission project with the local Chinese Baptist churches in Malaysia was launched in 1963 by sending missionary and financial sponsorship. Several mission points were established in east and west Malaysia, including Melaka (1964), Taiping (1970), Sabah (1970), and Sandakan (1972).¹⁷⁶ In 1974, a female missionary was sent to Africa where she developed a ministry to the Chinese railway construction workers in Tanzania and Zambia. Another female missionary was sent to Sapporo, Japan in 1977 to serve local Japanese. A short-term female missionary served in Taiwan for two years, beginning in 1978.¹⁷⁷

The Take-off Stage of Hong Kong Baptist Ministry 1950 – 1984

During the post-World War II period, Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church and Kowloon City Baptist Church, formerly the chapels of Hong Kong Baptist Church became fully-fledged churches. They shared the burden of promoting the Baptist ministry in Hong Kong and their emergence signified the onset of the take-off stage of the Baptist movement.

Historically, Hong Kong Baptist Church, Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church, and

¹⁷⁴ Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 109-10, 147.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 147-48. For details, see Princeton S. Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. II*, 42-43, 94-95, 104-05, 166-69, 173-74; *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Liushi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan* [Special Memorial Issue for the Sixtieth Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1998] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1998), 81-158.

¹⁷⁶ Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 148-51.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 151-52.

Kowloon City Baptist Church, were the founding churches of the Baptist denominational body, established in 1938. In 2000, there were 82 Baptist churches and chapels in Hong Kong with a total membership of 57,503 and an average worship attendance of 25,855. At that time, the three largest Baptist churches had memberships of 12,161, 4,500, and 4,112, respectively, and an average attendance for worship of 3,696, 1,300, and 1,509, respectively.¹⁷⁸

Financially, these three churches were the most important contributors to the Baptist Convention and its related institutions. In 1978 and 1984, they contributed 59.05%¹⁷⁹ and 64.89%¹⁸⁰ respectively to the Convention's offerings. In 2000, their total offering to the Baptist Convention was a quarter of their total offerings. Their combined contribution amounted to almost one third of the total offering received by Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary and Baptist Mission Centre.¹⁸¹

Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church – Tsim Sha Tsui is located at the southern end of Kowloon Peninsula. It was said that early in the pioneer period, the Revs. William Dean and John Johnson, American Baptist missionaries, set up an outpost within this area.¹⁸² The actual recorded ministry was started in 1901 by a group of members of Hong Kong Baptist Church who saw the need for evangelizing the people on the Kowloon peninsula. The Rev. Chow Ka-wing, pastor of Hong Kong Baptist Church, was appointed to set up a gospel point at Yau Ma Tei. However, the ministry was terminated two years later.¹⁸³ In 1921, with the personal assistance and financial

¹⁷⁸ Data taken from "Er Ling Ling Ling Nian Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ge Tang Hui Shi Gong Tong Ji Biao," ["Statistics of the Member Churches' Ministry of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong – 2000"] *The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong Annual Report 2000* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 2001), 175-76. For details, see Table 1 in the Appendix.

¹⁷⁹ Data taken from "Yi Jiu Qi Ba Nian Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ge Tang Hui Shi Gong Tong Ji Biao," ["Statistics of the Member Churches' Ministry of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong – 1978"] *The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong Annual Report 1978* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong, The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1979). For details, see Table 2 in the Appendix.

¹⁸⁰ Data taken from "Yi Jiu Ba Si Nian Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ge Tang Hui Shi Gong Tong Ji Biao," ["Statistics of the Member Churches' Ministry of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong – 1984"] *The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong Annual Report 1984* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong, The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1985). For details, see Table 2 in the Appendix.

¹⁸¹ Data taken from "Er Ling Ling Ling Nian Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ge Tang Hui Shi Gong Tong Ji Biao," ["Statistics of the Member Churches' Ministry of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong – 2000"] *The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong Annual Report 2000* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong, The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 2001), 177-78. For details, see Table 3 in the Appendix.

¹⁸² Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 103.

¹⁸³ Lau, *Xianggang Jidujiaohui Shi*, [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches] 141; Chung Yan-kong, "Xianggang Jinxinhui," ["Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan* [Special Memorial Issue for Twentieth Anniversary of The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association 1938-1958] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association, 1958), 42.

support of Wong Kwok-shuen, deacon of Hong Kong Baptist Church, and other fellow members, the church became interested in establishing a new chapel at Sai Wan Ho, a fishing district near Shau Ki Wan on the eastern end of Hong Kong Island.

Established in an industrial area, the chapel developed a successful outreach ministry among the working class. However, a national strike in 1925 paralysed the industries in that area, causing workers to move out of the district. Due to few or unsuccessful evangelistic efforts in the district and because of a better potential for ministry elsewhere on the peninsula, the chapel at Sai Wan Ho was closed in 1926.¹⁸⁴

Meanwhile, a Baptist itinerant evangelistic team from South China held a tent crusade in Kowloon, resulting in a good number of responses in 1925. The attendance of the follow-up services exceeded 50. Assessing the needs in this area after the crusade, Hong Kong Baptist Church decided to halt the ministry at Sai Wan Ho so that the resources could be shifted to Kowloon. A new Baptist chapel was started at Jordan Road at the Yau Ma Tei district, on June 6, 1926.¹⁸⁵ Actually, this was the resumption of an earlier ministry at Yau Ma Tei. This new congregation experienced very rapid growth, resulting in increase in a membership increased from approximately 20 to 100 within five years. One of the fruitful ministries was its Sunday school which attracted a number of street children within the neighbourhood. In 1931 the chapel was moved to Nathan Road due to the expansion of the congregation. Even the new building was not adequate for the growth, so that the church launched a campaign to erect a permanent church building. Hong Kong Baptist Church fully supported the project and a joint committee was set up in 1932. Wong Kwok-shuen and Lam Chi-fung, on behalf of the committee, purchased a piece of land at Ho Man Tin for the future church premises. However, the land was sold to Pui Ching Middle School (in Guangzhou) for the establishment its Hong Kong branch school in April 1935. In 1937, Wong Kwok-shuen personally donated a lot at

¹⁸⁴ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 103; Lau, *Xianggang Jidu Jiaohui Shi* [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], 141; Lau, *Guangzhou Jidujiao Gai Kuang Liang Guang Jinxinhui Shi Lue* [An Overview of Protestantism in Guangzhou and the Baptist History in the Provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi], 259.

The national strike in 1925 was a continuation of the strike occurred in Shanghai in May 1925. It was a nation-wide patriotic action and the working class in Hong Kong joined the movement as a reaction against the British colonial. For details, see Tsai Jung-fang, *The Hong Kong People's History of Hong Kong: 1841-1945* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2001), 121-71; Sin Yuk-yee, "Social Organisations and Social Changes," in *Hong Kong History: New Perspectives*, Vol. I, ed. Wang Gun-wu (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing H.K. Co. Ltd., 1997), 188-90.

¹⁸⁵ Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. II*, 29.

Hillwood Road for this project, and the chapel then purchased the adjacent block, a sizeable area of some 4,000 square feet for its new building. The church sent its staff worker, To Chiu-sing, to Malaysia and Singapore to do fund-raising. He returned with offerings of approximately HK\$10,000 contributed by overseas Chinese Christians. The church's two-storey project was completed on July 1, 1939, with a seating capacity of 700. On December 10, 1939, this congregation was formally organized under the name Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church with 183 charter members.¹⁸⁶

The membership increased to 304 in 1940, but later dropped sharply during the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong begun in 1941. The church premises were occupied by the Japanese forces for a while, causing an almost a total halt of its ministry, yet the membership increased by 95 during the first year of the occupation.¹⁸⁷ Two years after the liberation of Hong Kong from the Japanese in 1945, the church building at Hillwood Road was unable to accommodate the crowd attending. A church extension project was launched in 1948 and a piece of land at Cameron Road, some 7,500 sq. feet in size, was purchased in March 1954. The church's problem of insufficient capacity and space of the church remained unsolved until the completion of the new church premises on November 1, 1958.¹⁸⁸

The English Sunday worship service begun in March 1959, led by the two Southern Baptist missionary professors from Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary. A movement to expand the church's ministries was begun in June 1964 with three objectives: firstly, to complete the interior innovation of the new church premises; secondly, to promote evangelism by medical services; and finally, to develop local and overseas mission work. A clinic was opened in the church on October 4, 1964, with the idea of being operated on a voluntary basis by church members who were professional medical practitioners. The clinic offered free medical services to its patients. This kind of combined medical-evangelical services was also extended to

¹⁸⁶ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 103-04; Lau, *Xianggang Jidujiaohui Shi* [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], 142-43; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. II*, 29-30; Chung, "Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church," 42.

¹⁸⁷ Lau, *Xianggang Jidujiaohui Shi* [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], 143-44; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. II*, 31; Chung, "Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church," 42-43.

¹⁸⁸ Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. II*, 32-33; Chung, "Xianggang Jinxinhui," ["Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church"], 43; "Jianshazui Jinxinhui Jian Jie," ["Brief Introduction of the Ministry of Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Liushi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan* [Special Memorial Issue for Sixtieth Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1998] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1998), 89.

the district of Lam Tin in February 1969.¹⁸⁹

There were three chapels set up by Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church in the districts of Ngau Tau Kok (1971), Cha Gor Ling (1974) and Cheung Sha Wan (1979). Another eight chapels were joint projects with the Baptist Association and the Hong Kong-Macao Mission: Grace Baptist Church at Ho Man Tin (1951), Tai Kok Tsui Baptist Church (1953), Mong Kok (1955), Leighton Road Baptist Church (1957), Kowloon Mandarin Baptist Church (1957), Jordan Road Baptist Church (1957), Tsuen Wan Mandarin Baptist Church (1959) and Shatin Baptist Church (1961).¹⁹⁰

The initial project of overseas missions was started in July 1968 with the sponsoring of half of the pastor's monthly salary for Ipoh Baptist Church in Malaysia.¹⁹¹ Miss Yau Shuk-yea was the first missionary sent in 1978 by the church to Manila in the Philippines to work on the Chinese program production of the Far East Broadcasting Company.¹⁹² The third project of the mission ministry was the subsidizing of the pastor's annual salary for a Baptist church in Kuantan, Malaysia, in 1984.¹⁹³

Kowloon City Baptist Church – Kowloon City is four miles north of the

¹⁸⁹ Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II*, 34-35; "Jianshazui Jinxinhui Jian Jie," ["Brief Introduction of the Ministry of Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church"] 89; "Jianshazui Jinxinhui," ["Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Liushi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan* [Special Memorial Issue for Sixtieth Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1998] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1989), 46.

¹⁹⁰ "Jianshazui Jinxinhui Wushi Nian Dashi Ji," ["A Fifty-Year Chronicles of Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church"] in *Jianshazui Jinxinhui Wushi Zhounian Jinxi Te Kan 1939-1989* [Special Memorial Issue for the Fiftieth Anniversary of Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church 1939-1989] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church, 1989), 9-12; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II*, 54-56, 64-66, 90-91, 92-93, 121-22; "Jianshazui Jinxihu," ["Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church"], in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Liushi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan* [Special Memorial Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988], 46.

¹⁹¹ Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II*, 34.

¹⁹² "Jianshazui Jinxihu," ["Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church"], in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Liushi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan* [Special Memorial Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988], 46. In the website of Far East Broadcasting Company, its vision is mentioned that: "The founding of Far East Broadcasting Company (FEBC) was truly a miracle. Despite the limited sum of money they had, the founders Dr. Bowman and Dr. Broger had a great vision. They answered their Master's Call to preach Christ to the World by Radio." Regarding its ministry, "FEBC is an international Christian organization, non-profit and non-denominational. Founded in 1945, FEBC has now 37 medium wave, short wave and FM stations, with close to 1000 staff. FEBC uses more than 150 languages to bring the gospel to two-thirds of the world's population. FEBC began broadcasting to China in 1949. The Chinese ministries at present have five production centers in different parts of the world, being the largest under the FEBC banner. The Chinese programs are being aired to China from six transmitters using 12 frequencies." See "FAR EAST Broadcasting Co. Chinese Ministries;" English; Available from <http://www.febcchinese.org/html/FEBC-english.htm>; English; Internet; accessed 14 March 2004.

¹⁹³ "Jianshazui Jinxinhui Wushi Nian Dashi Ji," ["A Fifty-Year Chronicles of Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church,"] 13.

Kowloon peninsula terminus. The landmark of the district was the Walled City of Kowloon from which the district derives its name.¹⁹⁴

In the early 1930s, Kowloon City was still an undeveloped area. In 1931, the Rev. Chung Chi-leung, pastor of Yau Ma Tei Chapel, organized the Soul-winning Union and held evangelistic meetings every Sunday at a shop belonging to a church member at Prince Edward Road, Kowloon City. With the reinforcement of the itinerant evangelistic team of South China Baptists on Kowloon Peninsula, the ministry at Kowloon City benefited greatly. In order to take care of the new converts, several Baptist families committed themselves to setting up a Baptist gospel point at To Kau Wan, and Hong Kong Baptist Church sponsored half of the monthly rental expenses.¹⁹⁵ The ministry continued to grow rapidly and more staff workers were hired. In 1932, Mrs. Wong Kwok-Shuen, then a new deaconess of Hong Kong Baptist Church, employed a female preacher for the chapel at her own expense, although the congregation was responsible for its own rent.¹⁹⁶ Twelve people were converted to Christ during that first year and the gospel point was renamed Baptist Chapel in 1934.¹⁹⁷

In early 1935, the chapel moved to a larger building on Boundary Street, without any financial support from the mother church. The membership increased to 65 in 1936.¹⁹⁸ As this chapel grew rapidly, an even larger building was urgently needed for further ministry development. A proposed location for the new premises was accepted by the congregation in 1937.¹⁹⁹ After the Japanese occupation of

¹⁹⁴ The Walled City was a unique historical location, as it was the only piece of land (some 280,000 square feet) never under the jurisdiction of the Hong Kong colonial government. A Manchu magistrate was located there, signifying Chinese's sovereignty over the New Territories, based on the Walled City clause of the Convention of Beijing. In 1975, Hong Kong officials admitted that the Walled City was not under the jurisdiction of the colonial government. The division between Kowloon Peninsula and the leased area of the New Territories was marked by Boundary Street. See Liu, *An Outline History of Hong Kong*, 61-65 and Wesley-Smith, *Unequal Treaty 1898-1997*, 123.

¹⁹⁵ "Hui Shi," ["History of the Church,"] in *Jiulongcheng Jinxinhui Jinxi Jinian Te Kan* [Special Issue for the Golden Anniversary of Kowloon City Baptist Church] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Kowloon City Baptist Church, 1989), 10; Chang Y. K. Daniel, "Jiulongcheng Jinxinhui," ["Kowloon City Baptist Church"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan* [Special Memorial Issue for Twentieth Anniversary of The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association 1938-1958] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association, 1958), 41.

¹⁹⁶ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 105; "Hui Shi," ["History of the Church,"] 10.

¹⁹⁷ "Hui Shi," ["History of the Church,"] 10-11; Chang, "Jiulongcheng Jinxinhui," ["Kowloon City Baptist Church"] 41.

¹⁹⁸ "Hui Shi," ["History of the Church,"] 11; Chang, "Jiulongcheng Jinxinhui," ["Kowloon City Baptist Church"] 41.

¹⁹⁹ Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II*, 22.

Guangzhou in 1938, a large number of Baptists in Guangzhou moved to Hong Kong. Since most of them attended the worship service at Kowloon City Baptist Church, the construction of a new building became a burning issue.²⁰⁰ In the same year, Lam Chi-fung and other eight church members were elected to form a preparatory committee for the construction project. During that same year, a piece of land of some 14,000 square feet was purchased from the government at Sterling Road. The church became independent under the name of Kowloon City Baptist Church on August 27, 1939, at which time four deacons were ordained, including Lam Chi-fung and his wife Lam Chan Chik-ting. The construction of the new church started on June 16, 1940 and the service for dedicating the new building was held on December 14, 1940, with 193 charter members present. The opening ceremony was conducted by the acting governor of Hong Kong and the thanksgiving prayer was led by Bishop Ronald O. Hall of the Anglican Church of Hong Kong.²⁰¹

During the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong from 1941 to 1945, most of the members of Kowloon City Baptist Church fled from Hong Kong. After World War II, the ministry of the church had a substantial rebound. In 1947, the membership increased to 789. The average attendance of Sunday worship service and of the Sunday school was about 600 and 170, respectively.²⁰² The following three decades after World War II can be regarded as the take-off period of the church. As shown in Table 1 in the Appendices, its membership exceeded the membership of the two other large Baptist churches in the 1950s. Since the capacity of the sanctuary and Sunday school classrooms could not match the rapid growth of attendance, the church employed measures to tackle the problem, such as the building extension projects in 1951 and 1954. However, the problem of space remained unsolved. A committee for reconstruction of the sanctuary was formed in 1956 and reorganised in 1958. On behalf of the church, a group of deacons led by Lam Chi-fung and Wong Y. K. David, a civil engineer, undertook a fruitful negotiation with the government on the reconstruction of the building. In 1958, that the church was giving a piece of land at Sterling Road in exchange for a larger lot of land on Argyle Street, some 20,000 sq. feet, with a compensational land cost of some HK\$50,000. The new church was completed

²⁰⁰ Lau, *Xiangang Jidujiaohui Shi* [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], 140.

²⁰¹ "Hui Shi," ["History of the Church,"] 11-12; Chang, "Jiulongcheng Jinxinhui," ["Kowloon City Baptist Church"] 41; Lau, *Xiangang Jidujiaohui Shi* [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], 139-40.

²⁰² "Hui Shi," ["History of the Church,"] 12-13.

in August 1964. The special worship of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the church and the opening ceremony of the new building, conducted by Sir David Trench, Governor of Hong Kong (1964 – 1971), was held on August 28, 1964. The building, 18,380 sq. feet in size, is composed of two parts: the sanctuary in the front and the religious education building in the rear. The former is a hall with a seating capacity of 1,800, plus 84 seats for the choir on the platform. The latter is a 10-storey building for Sunday school classes and church offices. Due to the enormous financial burden of erecting such a large building, the first phase of six storeys was completed in 1964²⁰³ and the second phase, in 1974.²⁰⁴ In fact, Kowloon City Church was at that time the largest Chinese church premises in the world.

The church planting ministry of Kowloon City Baptist Church started in 1949 with the establishing of its first chapel in Sham Shui Po. In the 1950s, six chapels were founded in the following districts or locations: Fan Ling (1951), Tai Po (1953), Yuen Long (1955), Prince Edward Road (Mandarin speaking – 1956), To Kwa Wan (1957) and Diamond Hill (1957). Among these chapels, all except Yuen Long, were joint projects with the Baptist Association and the Hong Kong-Macao Mission, FMB, SBC. From the 1960s to the 1980s, another six chapels were set up: Hung Hom (1961), Castle Peak (1963), Sai Kung (1963), Tse Wan Shan (1977), Choi Ping (1977), and City One Shatin (1984). All of them were joint projects between the Baptist Association (Convention) and the Hong Kong-Macao Mission.²⁰⁵ From 1949 through 1984, Kowloon City Baptist Church founded thirteen chapels, which can be considered third generation churches of the Baptist movement in the territory.

As a part of its commitment to overseas missions, Kowloon City Baptist Church sent a male co-worker to Bethel Church in Brunei to help with its ministry in June 1977. Four months later, Kowloon City Baptist Church sent one of its pastors to be

²⁰³ “Hui Shi,” [“History of the Church,”] 13-16; “Jiulongcheng Jinxinhui Shi gong Jian Jie,” [“Brief Introduction of the Ministry of Kowloon City Baptist Church,”] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Liushi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan* [Special Memorial Issue for Sixtieth Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1998] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1998), 87; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches – Vol. II*, 26-27.

²⁰⁴ “Jiulongcheng Jinxinhui – Wushi Nian Lai,” [“Kowloon City Baptist Church – Fifty Years,”] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Liushi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan* [Special Memorial Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1989), 44.

²⁰⁵ Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II*, 50-53, 57-58, 60-63, 72-73, 82-83, 86-89, 100-02, 127-28, 134, 175; “Hui Shi,” [History of the Church,”] 17; *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Liushi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan* [Special Memorial Issue for the Sixtieth Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1998], 81-158.

missionary pastor of the Brunei church where he continued to serve there as the pastor-in-charge for two years. By the end of 1978, the church sponsored a female co-worker as a missionary in Thailand and offered scholarships to Malaysia Baptist Theological Seminary. The Rev. Daniel Chang Y. K, pastor in-charge of the church, was invited to take an evangelism trip to the overseas Chinese in Europe from April to June 1980.²⁰⁶

In summary, the early Baptist mission in Hong Kong was single handedly carried out by Hong Kong Baptist Church. It is no exaggeration to say that the developing stage of Hong Kong Baptist Church was synonymous with the developing stage of Baptist missions in Hong Kong. In other words, the church's early history is almost equivalent to the early history of the Hong Kong Baptist movement in the first half of the twentieth century, or a micro-early Baptist history in Hong Kong. Therefore, Hong Kong Baptist Church is regarded as the mother church of Baptist churches in Hong Kong. Through the endeavours of Hong Kong Baptist Church, the third-generation of Baptist churches in Hong Kong was born before the Second World War. Hong Kong Baptist Church is indisputably the cornerstone of the Baptist movement in the territory. Park Anderson rightly points out that Hong Kong Baptist Church was a missionary church from the very beginning.

Few churches in China, or elsewhere, have done as much direct missionary work as the Hong Kong Baptist Church. This missionary zeal has been back of the prosperity of the church.²⁰⁷

As this church is undoubtedly the first Baptist church of Hong Kong, Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church and Kowloon City Baptist Church represent the second generation of the movement. From the above analysis, we can see that by the year of 1984, 45 Baptist churches and chapels out of the total number of 72 member churches of the Baptist Convention belong to the family tree of these three churches; that is, 65.2% of the churches and chapels have either 'direct' or 'indirect kinship' with Hong Kong Baptist Church, Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church, and Kowloon City Baptist Church. Thus, it is justifiable to state that these three churches are the largest and most influential Baptist congregations since the beginning of the Baptist movement in Hong Kong.

²⁰⁶ "Hui Shi," [History of the Church,] 17-18.

²⁰⁷ Anderson, "He Knoweth Not How," 57.

Conclusion

Historically, the churches in Hong Kong and China were planted by the Western missionaries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The church, like an organism or a plant influenced by climate and soil, is inevitably the product of the theological context of the particular era. The religious and cultural background of the Protestant missionary movement consisted “on the one hand the Enlightenment, liberalism, and cultural optimism and on the other hand Pietism and Neopietism, that is, the ‘free’ churches and the evangelical revival within the established churches.”²⁰⁸ In addition to these areas of struggle, conflict in the socio-political arena was another unsolvable dilemma. Facing the issues, such as the abolition of the slave trade and the opium trade, and colonial expansion, the missionary movement “had to confront the question of its posture toward the ideal of civic liberty and colonial politics.”²⁰⁹ The church and missionaries, thus, might have intentionally avoided addressing these politically sensitive issues, which would have aroused their subjects’ reaction to imperialism and social injustice in colonised areas.

Baptist missionaries conducted the first encounter between Christianity and colonial Hong Kong after the Treaty of Nanjing. The early Baptist ministry in the colony was a joint-venture of the Southern and American Baptist missionaries both. Hong Kong Baptist Church, built on the foundation laid by the Shucks, is regarded as the “First Baptist Church” in Hong Kong. It has been a mission oriented church since its establishment in 1901 as it single-handedly carried out the Baptist movement in the territory. Thus, Hong Kong Baptist Church is also known as the mother church of all Baptist churches in the colony. After a century of diligent efforts, Baptists became one of the largest Protestant denominations in Hong Kong and earned a respectable social status in the colony.

²⁰⁸ Wind, “The Protestant Missionary Movement from 1789 to 1963,” 239.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM PERIPHERY TO COOPERATION

Hong Kong's history and destiny are legendary. It was described as a "barren rock" when the British flag was unfurled on the Possession Point in 1841. Amazingly, it rose to be ranked as a world-class financial, trading, and business centre as well as one of the wealthiest cities in the world. When the British flag was being lowered from the roof of the Governor's House on June 31, 1997, Hong Kong was ranked as the world's fifth largest holder of foreign currency reserves, having reserves in excess of US\$82 billion and exceeded only by Japan, Mainland China, Taiwan, and Germany.¹ Meanwhile, Hong Kong Baptists had also risen from a peripheral denomination within the Protestant groups to become the largest denomination before the 1997 handover. The ascendancy of Baptists may be seen as parallel to the legendary rise of the colony from a tiny obscure fishing village to a place claiming to be "Asia's world city."²

The purpose of this chapter is to describe how a partnership between Baptists and the British colonial government was established after 1949. The chapter begins with an examination of two arenas of dialogue related to the church-state practice of Hong Kong Baptists: firstly there were a series of interactions between Sir Alexander Grantham, the Governor of Hong Kong, and Lam Chi-fung, who represented the Baptist denominational body; secondly, there was the interaction between the Baptist laity and pastors on the issue of education. The main area of dialogue concerned the matter of Baptist educational institutions accepting governmental subsidy. The substance of the two dialogues exhibits the mindset of Hong Kong Baptists and reveals the rationale of Baptists which emerged concerning church-state relations. The final part is a study of the socio-political and ecclesiological context of Hong

¹ The top four were Japan (222 billion), China (121 billion), Taiwan (90 billion), and Germany (86 billion). The ranking remained unchanged in November 1999. "Exchange Fund Figures As At End-June 1997 Announced," Press Releases, Hong Kong Monetary Authority, HKSAR of the PRC; English; available from <http://www.info.gov.hk/hkma/eng/press/index.htm>; Internet; accessed 15 December, 2002.

² "Asia's World City" is a new global brand programme for Hong Kong, launched on May 10, 2001, by the Hong Kong SAR government. The major aspect of the programme is "to enhance international understanding of Hong Kong's strong position as a gateway to the Mainland of China as well as a hub for business throughout the Asia-Pacific region." For details, see "New global brand for Hong Kong," Press Releases, Asia's World City HONG KONG; English; available from <http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/brandhk/0510182.htm>; Internet, accessed 3 July, 2004.

Kong in the post-World War II period. The intention is to explore the reasons for the development of the strong relationship between the colonial government and the Baptist churches and, particularly, their partnership in educational provision in the colony. The evidence I lay out below will show the key to understanding the origins of this partnership are the following: first, the conditions which existed in Hong Kong under Grantham's governorship; second, the British decision to remain in Hong Kong after the defeat of the Japanese and third, the views held by Bishop R. O. Hall and Sir Grantham on the value of Christian social services. Much can be discerned about colonial policies in Hong Kong through a comparison with the strategies used by British in other possessions in Southeast Asia, particularly in Malaya and the practice of patronage and *kuan-hsi* (network).

Lam Chi-Fung and the Baptist Educational Ministry

Judging solely from his lengthy incumbency of the chairperson of the Baptist Convention, it would be not an exaggeration to claim that Lam Chi-fung was the most influential Baptist leader in the Baptist history of Hong Kong and the chief-engineer of the Baptist movement in the territory.³

Although a successful Hong Kong businessman, Lam incessantly devoted himself to the causes of church ministry and social services in Hong Kong, Macau, and Guangdong Province. The Rev. Princeton S. Hsu, the then Vice Chairperson of the Baptist Association of Hong Kong, applauded Lam's commitment and merits. He pointed out that most of Lam's achievements were closely related to the church and noted that his accomplishments in the financial sector were in one way or another

³ Lam Chi-fung's incumbency of chairperson/president was 1941, 1946 to 1970, totally 26 years. There was a total halt of the operation of the Baptist Association due to the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong from 1942 to 1945.

Lam Chi-fung, born in 1892, a native of Swatow, was the elder son of a Baptist pastor, the Rev. Lam Shiu-fan. After his graduation from Tung Man College, Amoy, he attended Union Medical College in Beijing for further studies; however, his phobia about blood caused him to quit the studies. He then came to Hong Kong for business in 1914 and became a successful businessman dealing in coal, rice, shipping, and banking. Having achieved business success at his early age, Lam committed himself to helping the fellow people in his native region, a mountainous area in the north-eastern part of Guangdong Province, often affected by drought. As he was zealous for the welfare of his native region, he constructed irrigation projects and roads at his own expenses that made him well respected among his fellow people. After WWII, Lam returned to Hong Kong from Macau and was immediately appointed by the governor of Hong Kong to tackle the problem of fuel rationing. See Tang Chi-ching, ed., *Social Leaders in Hong Kong and Macao* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Associated Press, 1959), 9; "Biographic Sketch of Dr. and Mrs. Lam Chi-fung," in *Lin Zifeng Boshi Chen Zhiting Nushi Jinhun Jinian* [Golden Wedding of Dr. Lam Chi-fung and Mrs. Lam Chen Chi-ting] (Hong Kong: 1971), 6.

helpful to the church.⁴ Lam's leadership was channelled through his many positions within the larger Church body. For example, he served as Vice President of Baptist World Alliance at the 9th Congress of the Baptist World Alliance, 1955, in London; Chairperson of Leong Kwong Baptist Association (The Baptist Association of the Provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi); Chairperson of South China Christian Relief Association; Chairperson of the Baptist Association of Hong Kong; Chairperson of the board of Leong Kwong Baptist Hospital, Guangzhou, of Truth Hospital, Guangdong, and of Hong Kong Baptist Hospital; President of Hong Kong Baptist College; Principal of Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School; deacon of Kowloon City Baptist Church; Chairperson of the Chinese YMCA and Chinese Christian Churches Union in Hong Kong, and so forth.⁵

Lam Chi-fung, although committed to various social service programs, made Christian education his top priority; as indicated by his tireless involvement in the business of Christian education in Hong Kong. Dr. S. C. Leung, former General Secretary of YMCA in the Orient, once said of Lam that he was "the first example that a successful businessman has become a successful school head" in Hong Kong.⁶ Lam's commitment to Christian education began when he was invited to be the voluntary acting principal of Pui Ching Middle School and Pooi To Girls' Middle School after the schools were moved to Macau during the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong in January 1944. After the schools moved back to Hong Kong in 1945, Lam continued to act as the principal of Pui Ching and as the supervisor of Pooi To. Under his leadership, the two schools were renamed Hong Kong Private Pooi To Girls' Middle School in April 1946 and Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School in June 1950, and began to implement a series of expansions.⁷ Lam was appointed as a

⁴ Princeton S. Hsu, "Speech Eulogizing Dr. Lam Chi Fung on His Retirement: Delivered by Rev. Princeton S. Hsu, Vice-Pres. H.K. Baptist Churches Association on September 18, 1965, at the Pui Ching Middle School," in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.*, ed. Lee King-sun (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), appendix, 1-2.

⁵ Ibid., appendix, 2; Tang Chi-ching, ed., *Social Leaders in Hong Kong & Macao* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Associated Press, 1959), 9-10.

⁶ Leung S. C., "Speech of Dr. S. C. Leung, former General Secretary of YMCA in the Orient at the Farewell Party on the Occasion of the Retirement of Dr. Lam Chi Fung as the Principal of Pui Ching Middle School, Hong Kong, 18th September, 1965," in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.*, ed. Lee King-sun (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), appendix, 6.

⁷ "Peidao Xiao Shi," ["A History of Pooi To"] in *Peidao Zhongxue Jiushi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan 1888-1978* [*The Ninetieth Anniversary of Pooi To Middle School 1888-1978*] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pooi To Middle School, 1978), 41-43; "Jiao Yu Bu - Zhong Deng Jiao Yu - Peizheng Zhongxue," ["Board of Education - Secondary Education - Pui Ching Middle School"] in *Xianggang*

member of the Higher Education Advisory Board of Hong Kong and vice-president of the Chinese Society of Hong Kong University in 1951. During the early post-war period, Lam came to be regarded as a leading figure in the effort to establish a Chinese university in the colony. He became the president of the Hong Kong Teachers Association in 1952 and a member of the Hong Kong Education Committee in 1954. A year later, his proposal to establish Hong Kong Baptist College was accepted by the Baptist Association.⁸

Lam's promotion of Baptist involvement in education was an example of his more general leadership in social service in the Colony. This leadership was particularly manifest in his involvement in the response to a disastrous fire in Tiger Cave Village in 1950. On January 11, 1950, one of the most disastrous fires in Hong Kong broke out around 2:15 p.m. in Tiger Cave Village near the Old Walled City, Kowloon.⁹ The fire spread over an area of approximately a half square mile and destroyed more than 6,000 houses,¹⁰ including 2,500 to 2,700 wooden huts in a squatter's area. The number of victims amounted to more than 30,000.¹¹ Almost all the governmental departments and non-governmental organizations in the colony were mobilised to provide relief to those made homeless by fire.¹² Some 17,000 people were registered as victims by the Social Bureau within the following ten days.¹³ After the clean-up of the area, the government authorised a voluntary organisation to construct a cottage resettlement for the registered victims.¹⁴ This was a joint-venture project between the government and various non-government agencies. Such a practice was common in the 1950s. The government would

Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan 1938-1958 [Special Memorial Issue for the Twentieth Anniversary of the United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association 1938-1958] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association, 1958), 25-26.

⁸ "Biographic Sketch of Dr. and Mrs. Lam Chi-fung," in *Ling Zi Feng Boshi Chen Zhi Ting Nushi Jinhun Jinian [Golden Wedding Anniversary of Dr. and Mrs. Lam Chi-Fung]* (Hong Kong): 6-7; "Ling Zi Feng Boshi Xing Zhuang," ["A Sketch of Life of Dr. Lam Chi-fung"], in "Ling Zi Feng Boshi Sangli Yi Jie," ["Programme of the Memorial Service for Dr. Lam Chi-fung"] (in Chinese) Kowloon City Baptist Church, Hong Kong, 24 April 1971.

⁹ "Cong Sha Pu Cun Shao Zhi Hou Wang Miao," ["Burning from Sha Po Village to Hau Wong Temple"] (in Chinese) *Takunpao*, 12 January, 1950, 4.

¹⁰ "Zaimin He Muwu," ["Victims and Wooden Huts"] (in Chinese) *Takunpao*, 27 February, 1950, 4.

¹¹ "Cong Sha Pu Cun Shao Zhi Hou Wang Miao," ["Burning from Sha Po Village to Hau Wong Temple"], 4.

¹² "Jiuzaihui Zuo Wa Chengli," ["Relief Committees Formed Last Night"] (in Chinese) *Takunpao*, 12 January, 1950, 4.

¹³ "Zaimin He Muwu," ["Victims and Wooden Huts"] 4.

¹⁴ "Jiulongcheng Zaiqu Jumin Zhiding Qian Wang Hewentian," ["Victims of the Fire in Kowloon City are Assigned to Ho Man Tin"] (in Chinese) *Takunpao*, 18 January, 1950, 4.

assume responsibility for granting a piece of land for the project and would then invite non-governmental agencies to provide social services. In fact, most of these non-government organisations were Christian missionary societies. So in this cottage resettlement project, Christian missionary societies were chiefly responsible for the construction of the resettlement areas.¹⁵ The project was completed on March 20, 1950¹⁶ and opened on May 16, 1950.¹⁷

After most of the registered victims had moved to the Ho Man Tin Village, 192 households and altogether 672 people still lived in the shelter at Nga Tsin Long Road or on the nearby streets. The Social Bureau kept the fire victims well supplied with daily meals, but these people remained homeless.¹⁸ Most of them were Christian, many being members of Kowloon City Baptist Church, and Swatow-speaking. Their desperate needs drew the attention of Lam, then the Chairperson of the Baptist Association and himself being a native of Swatow.

After the outbreak of the fire, a relief committee was formed by the Baptist Association and the Mission Office of the SBC.¹⁹ The Southern Baptist missionaries and the local Baptists were sent out to deliver clothes and basic necessities to the fire victims.²⁰ It was through the initiative of Lam, in his capacity as the Chairperson of the Baptist Association, that a request was made to the government for a piece of land for housing and rehabilitation projects for the homeless fire victims, particularly for those who were Baptists. The Mission Office of the FMB, SBC, donated HK\$30,000, while the local Baptist community was responsible for the remainder of the construction expenses. The settlement, containing some fifty blocks of cement cottages and a chapel, was completed in mid-November in 1950. The opening ceremony for the settlement, held on 26 November 1950, was conducted by Lam and the head of the government's Social Bureau. Dr. Winston Crawley, Southern Baptist

¹⁵ Yan Fuk-Chun, *Thy Kingdom Come: Case Study of "Christian Villages" in the Post-War Hong Kong* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 2002), 41-51.

¹⁶ "Hewentian Xincun Zuo Juxing Dianji Dianli," ["The Completion Ceremony of Ho Man Tin Village Held Yesterday"] (Chinese) *Takunpao*, 21 March, 1950, 4.

¹⁷ "Hewentian Xincun Zuo Kaimu," ["Ho Man Tin Village Opened Yesterday,"] (Chinese) *Takunpao*, 17 May, 1950, 4.

¹⁸ "Zaimin He Muwu," ["Victims and Wooden Huts"] 4.

¹⁹ Hung Won-man, "Ci Hui Bu," ["Benevolence Committee"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan 1938-1958* [Special Memorial Issue for the Twentieth Anniversary of The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association 1938-1958] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association, 1958), 22.

²⁰ Hung, "Ci Hui Bu," ["Benevolence Committee"] 22; Victor Frank, interview by author, tape recording, Seattle, Washington, USA, 24 April 2002.

Convention's FMB Secretary for the Orient, and the representative of the Hong Kong Macau Baptist Mission was invited to preach.²¹ The choice of the settlement's name, Brotherly Love Village, explicitly expressed the expectations of the local Baptist community, the organisers of the project, that the Village would be a community demonstrating Christian brotherly love and providing a powerful witness to the message of the Gospel.²² Reportedly, the population of the settlement at the beginning was 1,015 with 156 households.²³ Since most of the residents were Baptists from Swatow, many being Christian relatives and friends of the Lams, the village was considered to be one of the fourteen gospel villages established in the 1950's.²⁴

Lam Chi-fung's Philosophy of Christian Education

In his family thanksgiving worship service in 1955, Lam Chi-fung shared a testimony revealing the motivation for his commitment to the ministry of Christian education. In his testimony, Lam declared that he could quit his commercial responsibility one day, but he would never retire from commitment to God and Christian education ministry. He realised that his spiritual life grew stronger through his daily devotions, his commitment to church ministry and his involvement in the Christian education ministry.²⁵ Commenting on the vocations of school teacher and preacher, Lam accepted Martin Luther's assertion that the teacher holds the greatest, the best, and the most useful calling, equal to the calling of the preacher, but added that

²¹ Lam Chi-fung, "Xianggang Jinlianhui Li Nian Dashi Ji: Qi," ["A Chronicles of the Baptist Association - 7"] in *Jinlianhui Yue Kan* [*The Baptist Association Monthly*] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 9, 8 (1954): 3.

²² "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Liuxinian Dashi Zheji Yi Jiu San Ba Nian Zhi Yi Jiu Jui Qi Nian," ["A Sixty Years Chronicles of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong: 1938-1997"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Liuxin Zhounian Jinian Te Kan 1938-1998* [*Special Memorial Issue for the Sixtieth Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1998*] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1998), 17.

²³ Lam, "Xianggang Jinlianhui Li Nian Dashi Ji: Qi," ["A Chronicles of the Baptist Association - 7"], 5.

²⁴ To Pak-ho, "Chapter 2 – The Phase of a Chapel: Brotherly Love Village," (in Chinese) (Manuscript of the thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of requirement for the bachelor degree in History, Hong Kong Baptist University, 2003), 1-7, 18-20. The topic of To's paper is the history of the Brotherly Love Village Swatow Baptist Church, the chapel founded by the Baptist Association in 1950. It provides a good background study of the history of the Village. For further studies of the gospel villages in Hong Kong in the 1950s, see Leung Ka-lun, *Christian Work at Rennie's Mill Refugees Camp in the 50's* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 2000) and Yan, *Thy Kingdom Come: Case Study of "Christian Villages" in the Post-War Hong Kong*.

²⁵ Lam Chi-fung, "We De Jianzheng," ["My Witness"] in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.*, ed. Lee King-sun (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 7.

it would be impossible for him to judge which one was better.²⁶ As to his own vocation, Lam considered himself as a co-worker in the Kingdom of God, chosen by God to be the principal of a Baptist middle school. Lam was neither a missionary nor an evangelist, but a Christian educator who had been personally committed to his vocation for years.²⁷ In fact, he had also become the founding president of Hong Kong Baptist College.

From a global perspective, Lam fully understood that the post-World War II world was in a state of change and instability. People all over the world were facing the challenges originating from their spiritual weakness, social temptations, cultural conflicts, and ideological clashes. Lam was convinced that only Jesus Christ could solve all the problems and only Jesus could bring lasting peace to the world.²⁸ From a regional perspective, Lam acknowledged that the socio-political situation of Hong Kong in the 1950s was by no means stable. Hong Kong, as “a special part of the free world,” could never be totally immune to uncertainty. As a Christian educator, Lam refused to focus on all the insecurities but committed himself to accomplishing the educational mission to which God had called him. He vowed never to forsake the unsaved youth and declared that as long as there were unsaved youth, there would be a need for Christian education.²⁹ According to Lam, the very essence of Christian education is to provide spiritual formation and discipline to young people. Furthermore, he was convinced that even the best secular education could never guarantee that its graduates could overcome corruption in society. Lam agreed with Sir Alexander Grantham that most of the problems in the world were caused by unsound education systems, deficient in cultivating healthy minds and personal integrity.³⁰ Christian education has the mechanism to transform people, families, and

²⁶ Lam Chi-fung, “Jiaohui Yu Jiaohui Xuexiao De Wen Ti,” [“The Problems between the Church and Church School”] in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.*, ed. Lee King-sun (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 28.

²⁷ Lam Chi-fung, “Jai Meiguo Maiyami Meinan Jinxinhui Nian Hui,” [“In the Annual General Meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention in Miami”] in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.*, ed. Lee King-sun (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 11.

²⁸ Lam Chi-fung, “Yazhou Jinxinhui Qingnian Da Hui Kaimu Zhi Ci,” [“The Opening Address to the Asian Baptist Youth Conference”] in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.*, ed. Lee King-sun (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 9.

²⁹ Lam, “Jai Meiguo Maiyami Meinan Jinxinhui Nian Hui,” [“In the Annual General Meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention in Miami”] 11.

³⁰ Lam Chi-fung, “Xianggang Jinhui Jiaoyu Shiye De Qiantu” [“The Prospect of the Baptist Educational Business in Hong Kong”] in *Jinlianhui Yue Kan* [The Baptist Association Monthly] (in

neighbourhood, and international relations. In other words, Lam believed Christian education could prevent society from being destroyed by disputes and chaos. In fact, he considered the concepts of democracy, equity, and freedom to be rooted in Christian education.³¹

Lam was deeply convinced that Jesus Christ was a great teacher who commanded his disciples to teach people and nations.³² Moreover, he said that both the Old and New Testament presented education as an effective approach to evangelism. By making education a priority, the church would provide opportunities for people to know God and Christ. Despite his high regard for education, Lam always made the point that new spiritual life could only result from a personal encounter with Christ and experiencing the truth of the Gospel existentially, not by knowledge or books alone.³³ The approach developed by Lam for Baptists to run Christian schools was fourfold: firstly, there should be an emphasis on teaching of both spirituality and knowledge; secondly, the Word of God should be embodied in all teaching; thirdly, schools should impose strict school discipline; and finally, the practice of education should always be based on love.³⁴

In addition to his belief in the superiority of Christian education over secular education, Lam was strongly influenced by the Baptist heritage of education as he sought to accomplish his mission in Christian education. Lam was aware that Baptists founded many of the best universities in North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Lam also knew that pioneer Baptist missionaries were intensively committed to the education ministry, since they set up the earliest schools in Hong Kong. He was proud of this heritage and believed that Baptists in Hong Kong should continue to follow in the footprints of early Baptist educators.³⁵

Chinese) (Hong Kong) 12, 5 (1957): 2.

³¹ Lam Chi-fung, "Jinlianhui Dang Qian De Renwu He Renshi," ["The Immediate Mission and Understanding of the Baptist Association"] in *Jinlianhui Yue Kan* [*The Baptist Association Monthly*] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 12, 1 (1957): 2-3.

³² Lam, "Jinlianhui Dang Qian De Renwu He Renshi," ["The Immediate Mission and Understanding of the Baptist Association"] 2.

³³ Lam, "Jiaohui Yu Jiaohui Xuexiao De Wen Ti," ["The Problems between the Church and Church School"] 27.

³⁴ Lam Chi-fung, "Xianggang Jidujiao Jinxinhui Banxiue De Mudi," ["The Objectives of Education by Baptists in Hong Kong"] in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.*, ed. Lee King-sun (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 98-99.

³⁵ Lam, "Xianggang Jinhui Jiaoyu Shiye De Qiantu," ["The Prospect of the Baptist Educational Business in Hong Kong"] 2. In his speech, Lam stated that Harvard University was an example of the Baptist endeavour. However, it is incorrect as Harvard was founded by John Harvard of Charlestown,

Undoubtedly, another incentive for Lam's commitment was the meeting of the actual and practical needs of providing educational opportunities for the school-aged children of Baptist church members. The vision which Lam reiterated for Christian education to meet the needs of Baptist members' children was the exact same vision of the early Baptists in China who founded Pui Ching Middle School, Guangzhou, in 1889. Those early Baptists believed that only Christian schools could offer sound learning environment to protect their children from the pollution of the world.³⁶

There was also a strong practical consideration in the emerging Baptist educational programme in Hong Kong, since there was a severe shortage of universities and university places in the colony in the 1950s. This situation motivated Lam to establish a Baptist tertiary institution. In 1955, there were some 3,000 high school graduates, one tenth coming from Baptist schools. Since the University of Hong Kong, the only university in the territory at that time, only accepted some 300 pupils from English middle schools, most of the graduates from the Baptist Chinese middle schools would not be eligible for admission. Very few of the graduates at that time could afford to go abroad for further study, even though some were able to continue their studies in Taiwan. In response to the scarcity of university places,

a Congregationalist, though the first president, Henry Dunster, was a Baptist. See "The Early History of Harvard University," in *The Harvard Guide: History, Lore, and More*; English; available from <http://www.hno.harvard.edu/guide/intro/>; Internet; accessed 19 April 2005; "Henry Dunster," in *Lehigh Valley Baptist Church: Baptist Cameos*; English; available from <http://www.lvbaptist.org/comeos/bc-dunster.html>; Internet; accessed 19 April 2005.

In fact, Baptists did establish many universities and colleges in America. For instance, Brown University, one of the Ivy League universities, the third oldest college in New England and the seventh oldest in America, was originally founded as Rhode Island College in 1764 sponsored by Baptists of New England. It was the only institution "that welcomed students of all religious persuasions (following the example of Roger Williams, who founded Rhode Island in 1636 on the same principle)." See "Our History," in *Brown Admission Get to Know Us*; English; available from <http://www.brown.edu/Administration/Admission/gettoknowus/ourhistory.html>; Internet; accessed 19 April 2005. Some other historic universities founded by Baptists including Colby College, Maine (1813); Colgate University, New York (1819); George Washington University, Washington, D.C. (the old Columbian College, 1821); Denison University, Ohio (1830); Kalamazoo College, Michigan (1833); Shurtleff College, Illinois (chartered 1835, closed 1957); Bucknell University, Pennsylvania (1846); William Jewell College, Missouri (1849); University of Rochester, New York (1850) and The University of Chicago, Illinois (1890). See McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage*, 593; Leonard, *Baptist Ways: A History*, 66, 143-44, 231-32, 269-79; see also "A Brief History of the University of Chicago," in *The University of Chicago News Office*; English; available from <http://www-news.uchicago.edu/resources/brief-history.html>; Internet; accessed 19 April 2005. For details of Baptist founders of universities, see *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1958); Robert Torbet, *A History of the Baptists*, 3rd ed., with a foreword by Kenneth Scott Latourette (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Judson Press, 1963).

³⁶ Lam, "Xianggang Jidujiao Jinxinhui Banxiue De Mudi," ["The Objectives of Education by Baptists in Hong Kong"] 97.

Hong Kong Baptist College was founded in 1956.³⁷

Lam began to express a concern that the Baptist educational ministry was underdeveloped when compared with that of other Christian denominations, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, in the territory. In a speech delivered to the Chinese Christian Churches Union in Hong Kong in 1957, Lam mentioned that the total number of pupils in Hong Kong was some 350,000. He noted that the number of pupils enrolled in Protestant schools and the Roman Catholic schools were some 50,000 and 70,000, respectively, i.e., the number of pupils from the Christian schools were more than one third of the total number of pupils in Hong Kong. It is clear from these figures that the Christian education business was growing rapidly.³⁸ However, Lam pointed out that the total number of pupils in Baptist schools that same year was some 7,500, only one tenth of the number of pupils of the Roman Catholic schools.³⁹ In another speech, delivered to the commencement of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary in 1962, Lam said that the total number of Protestants in Hong Kong was some 100,000 and total number of churches and chapels was 350 and pointed out that the membership of Baptist churches was no more than 14,000 and the number of churches and chapels was only 40. Judging from the numbers of pupil, church, and church membership, Lam implied that he feared that Baptists were being marginalised, as they seemed to be underachievers who were being outnumbered by other denominations.⁴⁰ In a third speech delivered in the opening-dedication of new

³⁷ Lam Chi-fung, "You Jinhui Shiye Yu Gaodeng Jiaoyu Tan Dao Xianggang Jinhui xueyuan Sheli Zhi Jinguo," ["From the Perspective of Baptist Business and Tertiary Education to Understand the Establishment of Hong Kong Baptist College"] in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.*, ed. Lee King-sun (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 180-83; Lam Chi-fung, "Peizheng Zhongxue Yi Jiu Wu Qi Nian Du Xia Xuegi Gao Chu Zhong Ji Xiao Liu Bi Ye Li Jianghua," ["An Address to the Commencement of High School, Junior High School, and Primary School of Pui Ching Middle School, the 2nd Term of 1957"] in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.*, ed. Lee King-sun (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 212-14; Lam Chi-fung, "Dui Peizheng Gao Zhong bi Ye Tongxue De Shuwang," ["A Wish for the High School Graduates of Pui Ching"] in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.*, ed. Lee King-sun (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 215-18; Lam Chi-fung, "Tan Tan Peizheng Zhongxue Bi Ye Sheng De Jiuye Wenti," ["Sharing about the Employment Problem of the Graduates of Pui Ching Middle School"] in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.*, ed. Lee King-sun (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 219-21; Lam, "Jai Meiguo Maiyami Meinan Jinxinhui Nian Hui," ["In the Annual General Meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention in Miami"], 11.

³⁸ Lam, "Jiaohui Yu Jiaohui Xuexiao De Wen Ti," ["The Problems between the Church and Church School"] 28.

³⁹ Lam, "Xianggang Jinhui Jiaoyu Shiye De Qiantu" ["The Prospect of the Baptist Educational Business in Hong Kong"] 2.

⁴⁰ Lam Chi-fung, "Xianggang Jinlianhui Shendao Xueyuan Di Shiyijie Bi Ye Dianli Jianghua,"

campus of Baptist College in 1966, Lam articulated the gist of his vision for Christian education in Hong Kong:

There has been a great need for additional post-secondary education facilities in Hong Kong, especially since 1950. With assurance that God was guiding us this college was launched to help in the task of providing good academic training for the youth of Hong Kong and Southeast Asia in a Christian environment and under conditions as favourable to the mental, physical, moral, and social development of each student as could possibly be achieved.⁴¹

In short, it is justifiable to say that in Lam's perception, Hong Kong in the 1950s was a society of rapid change, experiencing tremendous social needs. Considering Christian education to be his divine vocation, he committed himself to leading the Baptist community to respond to this social need. Clearly, Lam was convinced that scriptures supported the premise that education was a sound means of evangelism. More importantly, he regarded Christian education as the only solution to the problems of the world and the only means of transforming society. The example of the pioneer Baptists in the educational ministry had obviously been a motivating force in his commitment to the business of Christian education. However, Lam was far from satisfied with the Baptist education ministry in the 1950's, particularly when its achievements were measured against the standards set by other denominations. Taking the long view, Lam felt a certain apprehension as he foresaw Baptist becoming increasingly marginalised in the colony.

Acquisition of Land and Interest-free Loans from the Colonial Government

Facing the ceaseless social needs of the community, Lam, as the head of the Baptist community, looked for opportunities to provide the community better social services, including education and medicine. Undoubtedly, money and land were two crucial factors in the development of any social services. In order to overcome the hurdles, Lam took the initiative in seeking assistance and resources from the government. As the chairperson of the Baptist Association, Lam frequently

[“The Address to the Eleventh Commencement of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary”] in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.*, ed. Lee King-sun (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 67.

⁴¹ Lam Chi-fung, “Address to the Opening Dedication of New Campus,” in Box 1, Folder 18 Formal Opening – Formal Opening of Hong Kong Baptist College’s Campus on Waterloo Road: Correspondence and Press Release, March 1966-67, n.d., collected in the Special Collections and Archives, Hong Kong Baptist University Library, Hong Kong.

interacted with the government to obtain financial sponsorship and subsidy. His interactions can be best understood through studying four cases: Hong Kong Pooi To Girls' Middle School, Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, Hong Kong Baptist College, and Hong Kong Baptist Hospital.

Due to the rapidly increasing enrolment after 1950, both Pooi To Girls' Middle School and Pui Ching Middle School urgently needed to extend their campuses in order to maintain their full-time class schedule.⁴² Lam, as the supervisor of Pooi To Girls' Middle School, asked the government in 1951 for land for constructing a new school building. In 1951 a piece of land 74,130 sq. feet in size was granted, accompanied by an interest-free loan for HK\$300,000 to be used for construction cost. Due to the financial arrangement, the construction project did not proceed until May 1953. The construction was completed in early summer in 1954 and the opening ceremony was conducted on June 12, 1954 by Mrs. Grantham, wife of the governor of

⁴² Both Pooi To Girls' Middle School and Pui Ching Middle School were established in Mainland China in the nineteenth century.

In 1888, the Woman's Missionary Union of Missouri Baptists donated funds for a girls' school in China. On March 3, 1888, Pooi To Girls' Middle School was born in Canton with only six pupils and Miss Young, a Southern Baptist missionary, was assigned to be the principal. The school became a complete high school in 1918. After that, the school developed rapidly and was recognized as one of the best girls' schools in China. After World War II, the board of the school realized the needs of a branch school in Hong Kong and a small scale of enrolment was accepted for kindergarten and a primary school. In 1945, the school invited Lam Chi-fung as the supervisor of the school who was responsible for completing the registration of the school with the Education Department in Hong Kong. For details, see Kwong Siu-lin, "A Historical Sketch of Pooi To Middle School 1888-1978," in *Peidao Zhongxue Jiushi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan 1888-1978* [*The Ninetieth Anniversary of Pooi To Middle School 1888-1978*] (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pooi To Middle School), 1978, 1-2.

In the autumn of 1889, five Chinese Baptists envisaged the need for a school for the boys of Baptist members after the establishment of Pui To Girls' Middle School. They donated sixty dollars as the launching funds of the enterprise. A school, named Pui Ching Baptist Academy, was established the next spring in a house in Canton. The response from Baptists all over South China was overwhelming and a substantial offering was received. This was the first page of the school. In 1906, The Leung Kwong Baptist Association decided to sell the existing campus of Pui Ching and to purchase a piece of land at Tung Shan for the new campus. The new school was completed in June 1908 and it was transferred to the Convention. After experiencing a serious financial crisis in 1915, overcome by local Baptists' and overseas Chinese donations, the school developed rapidly and became a complete high school in 1916. The school was one of the best boys' schools in South China and the enrolment was more than 5,000 students when the communists took over Mainland China.

The beginning of Hong Kong Branch School of Pui Ching Middle School was not anticipated. In the early 1930s, Hong Kong Baptist Church secured a lot at Ho Man Tin, a destitute area near Yau Ma Tei, from the government for the development of a new chapel for the congregation at Yau Ma Tei. However, the church found that it was not an ideal location then and the project was suspended. In compliance with the regulations, a building needed to be erected before the deadline. Through private consultation, the board of Pui Ching took advantage of the opportunity to build a branch school on this land in 1933. It was a junior high school in 1938 and a complete high school in 1940. For details, see "Peizheng Zhongxue Jianshi," ["A Brief History of Pui Ching Middle School"] in *Peizheng Zhongxue Chuang Xiao Qi Shi Wu Zhounian Jinian Te Kan 1889-1964* [*Special Memorial Issue for the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of Pui Ching Middle School 1889-1964*] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School), 1964, 3-6.

Hong Kong. Two years later, owing to financial difficulties, the school applied for a second interest-free loan.⁴³ An idea of further extension of the campus germinated in March 1958 on the occasion of the school's seventieth anniversary. In 1958 it was decided that the building would be named "Memorial Hall of the Seventieth Anniversary," and once again the school sought a government loan to cover construction costs. The groundbreaking ceremony was held in June 1959 and this building was completed in April 1960.⁴⁴ That same year, the Education Department classified Pooi To School as a private subsidised school, meaning that the school could obtain government financial subsidies on the partial salaries of its qualified middle school teachers and on the partial tuition fees of its middle school pupils. In 1965, the primary section of the school was moved to the site originally given by the government to Kowloon City Baptist Church to construct its primary school.⁴⁵ Due to the school's heavy financial responsibilities, the committee of the Baptist Association responsible for the school's establishment requested government subsidy, including 50% of the total construction expenses, a portion of the cost of furniture and facilities, and an interest-free loan amounting to 30% of the construction cost.⁴⁶ The government committed itself to sponsoring parts of the construction expenses in 1966.⁴⁷ In 1978, the school officially became a fully subsidised school (except for the primary school section which remained private) entitling it to receiving complete financial

⁴³ "Peidao Xiao Shi," ["A History of Pooi To"] 43-45; "Ben Xiao Jiushinian Lai Dashi Ji," ["The Chronicles of the School for Ninety Years"] in *Peidao Zhongxue Jiushi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan 1888-1978* [*The Ninetieth Anniversary of Pooi To Middle School 1888-1978*] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Pooi To Girls' Middle School, 1978), 50.

⁴⁴ "Peidao Xiao Shi," ["A History of Pooi To"] 44; "Ben Xiao Jiushinian Lai Dashi Ji," ["The Chronicles of the School for Ninety Years"] 52.

⁴⁵ Lam Chi-fung had a triple-role on this issue: supervisor of Pooi To Girls' Middle School, member of the Committee, and deacon of Kowloon City Baptist Church. The land, 20,000 sq. feet, adjacent to Kowloon City Baptist Church, was acquired from the government by Kowloon City Baptist Church in March 1960 for founding a church run primary school. However, the church was financially unable to afford two projects, church extension and primary school construction, proceeding simultaneously. The land was transferred to the Baptist Association for educational ministry. As there was a need of Pooi To Girls' Middle School which is under the management of the Secondary Education Board of the Baptist Association, the land was assigned to be the site of the new campus of the primary section of the school in 1963. See "Hui Shi," ["History of the Church"], 14-15. For the details of the discussion, see "Banxue Wu Ren Xiaozu Di Yi Ci Huiyi Huiyi Jilu [Minutes of the First Meeting of the 5-people Committee of Running Schools]," on 7 November 1963; "Banxue Wu Ren Xiaozu Di Eri Ci Huiyi Huiyi Jilu [Minutes of the Second Meeting of the 5-people Committee of Running Schools]," on 13 January 1964; and "Banxue Wu Ren Xiaozu Di San Ci Huiyi Huiyi Jilu [Minutes of the Third Meeting of the 5-people Committee of Running Schools]," on 17 February 1964, in "Zhongdeng Jiaoyu Bo Huiyi Jilu," ["Minutes of the Secondary Education Board Meetings"] on 17 June 1963 to 22 May 1969. (all in Chinese) (Hong Kong): 29-45, collected in the office of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong.

⁴⁶ "Banxue Wu Ren Xiaozu Di San Ci Huiyi Huiyi Jilu ["Minutes of the Third Meeting of the 5-people Committee of Running Schools]," 45.

⁴⁷ "Ben Xiao Jiushinian Lai Dashi Ji," ["The Chronicles of the School for Ninety Years"] 54.

sponsorship from the government, although still managed by the Baptist Association.⁴⁸

Due to the influx of refugees from Mainland China in the early 1950s, schools like Pui Ching Middle school felt tremendous pressure to provide more education opportunities to the youth. Constructing new school building was an obvious solution to the issue. In early 1952, Lam, in his capacity as the principal of Pui Ching Middle School, approached Sir Alexander Grantham, the governor of Hong Kong personally to lay before him the need for additional land for the extension of the school. As a result, a lot of land, some 120,000 sq. feet, was granted in April 1952 and a sum of HK\$300,000 interest-free loan for construction was approved in March 1953.⁴⁹ The project was started in the autumn of 1952, and Grantham was invited to conduct the opening ceremony and deliver a speech on October 4, 1953.⁵⁰ One year later in December, Lam's proposal made at the sixty-fifth anniversary of the school for constructing a memorial building was accepted. The construction was completed in August 1956, and the Education Secretary was invited to hold the opening ceremony on January 9, 1957.⁵¹ The new building was constructed on land granted in 1952, and the school once again received an interest-free loan from the government, a sum of HK\$150,000.⁵² In 1975, the school was one of the 36 private schools to be invited by

⁴⁸ "Peidao Xiao Shi," ["A History of Pooi To"] 44-45; "Ben Xiao Jiushinian Lai Dashi Ji," ["The Chronicles of the School for Ninety Years"] 52, 56-57.

⁴⁹ "Peizheng Nian Biao," ["A Chronicles of Pui Ching"] in *Peizheng Zhongxue Chuang Xiao Qi Shi Wu Zhounian Jinian Te Kan 1889-1964* [Special Memorial Issue for the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of Pui Ching Middle School 1889-1964] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1964), 21-22; "Peizheng Zhongxue Jianshi," ["A Brief History of Pui Ching Middle School"] in *Peizheng Zhongxue Chuang Xiao Qi Shi Wu Zhounian Jinian Te Kan 1889-1964* [Special Memorial Issue for the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of Pui Ching Middle School 1889-1964] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1964), 4-5.

⁵⁰ "Peizheng Nian Biao," ["A Chronicles of Pui Ching"] 21-22; "Peizheng Zhongxue Jianshi," ["A Brief History of Pui Ching Middle School"] 4-5; Lam Chi-fung, "Peizheng Zhongxue Xin Xiaoshe Kaimuli Zhici" ["The Address to the Opening Ceremony of the New Building of Pui Ching Middle School"] in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.*, ed. Lee King-sun (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 124.

⁵¹ "Peizheng Nian Biao," ["A Chronicles of Pui Ching"] 24-26; "Peizheng Zhongxue Jianshi," ["A Brief History of Pui Ching Middle School"] 5.

⁵² In his speech delivered to the groundbreaking ceremony for the memorial building, Lam expressed his appreciation to Sir Alexander Grantham and the Secretary of Education on the grants of land, some 150,000 sq. feet, and two pieces of interest-free loan, totally HK\$450,000. The size of the land was some 150,000 sq. feet, some 300,000 larger than the land acquired in 1952. However, it should be the same piece of land. There are two possibilities of the discrepancies: firstly, the records of some 120,000 sq. feet were incorrect; secondly, an extra piece of some 300,000 sq. feet was the additional acquisition from the government later. It is hard to judge based on the existing documents. However, the amount of the interest-free loan granted in 1953 was HK\$300,000, the said two pieces of interest-free loan totally HK\$450,000 implies that there should have the second loan of HK\$150,000 which might be the loan for constructing the memorial building of the sixty-fifth anniversary of the school. See Lam Chi-fung, "Peizheng Zhongxue Jinian Liu Shi Wu Zhounian Xiaoshe Dianjili Zhici," ["An Address to the Groundbreaking Ceremony for the Memorial Building of the Sixty-fifth Anniversary of Pui Ching

the Hong Kong government to become a subsidised school. The board of trustees accepted the invitation in 1984, and the secondary section became fully governmentally subsidised while the primary and kindergarten sections remain as the private institutions.⁵³

When Hong Kong Baptist College began operating in the autumn of 1956, classes were held at Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School. With the personal assistance of Grantham, the governor of Hong Kong,⁵⁴ the college in 1957 was granted a piece of land, some 166,000 sq. feet in size, for a permanent campus site.⁵⁵ The construction of a building started in February 1962 and was completed on May 1, 1962. The opening dedication ceremony was held on October 21, 1966 and Sir David Trench, the governor of Hong Kong, unlocked the door of the main entrance to the building, declaring the new premises open.⁵⁶ Due to the rapidly increasing enrolment, the existing building was soon unable to accommodate the students and meet their needs. Obviously, the only way to meet the pressing need of space and facilities was to add an extension to the original building. Lam intended to construct a large assembly hall so that a total of

Middle School"] in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.*, ed. Lee King-sun (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 156.

⁵³ "Gang Ao Chunqiu: Xianggang Peizheng," ["History of Hong Kong Pui Ching"] in *Peizheng Zhongxue Bainian Jinian Te Kan 1889-1989 [Special Memorial Issue for the Centennial Anniversary of Pui Ching Middle School 1889-1989]* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1989), 57.

⁵⁴ In his letter to Sir Alexander Grantham, Lam says "I recall when you were the Governor of Hong Kong in 1956, you had generously given a site to our College which led to the construction of the present campus." See "Letter to Sir Alexander Grantham, from Lam Chi-fung, dated 15 November, 1969," in PRESIDENT LAM CHI FUNG - RE: PERSONAL AFFAIRS, Jun 1961 - Apr 1971, n.d., collected in the Special Collections and Archives, Hong Kong Baptist University Library, Hong Kong; also see "The Text of the Commemorative Plaque," in *College News - Hong Kong Baptist College* (in Chinese) (Sept 1967): 4.

⁵⁵ The size of the land is uncertain. Lam Chi-fung and Wong Yin-lee say the site is 166,000 sq. feet. But some documents of the Baptist Convention show differently, such as Wong Y. K. David, Pang Hok-tan, and Hsu Princeton S. say it is 173,600 sq. feet. See Lam Chi-fung, "Hui Gu Yu Qian Zhan," ["Introspection and Envision"] in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.*, ed. Lee King-sun (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 71; Lam Chi-fung, "Peizheng Zhongxue Yi Jiu Wu Qi Nian Du Xia Xuegi Gao Chu Zhong Ji Xiao Liu Bi Ye Li Jianghua," ["An Address to the Commencement of High School, Junior High School, and Primary School of Pui Ching Middle School, the 2nd Term of 1957"] 213; Wong Yin-lee, *A History of the Hong Kong Baptist University* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University, 1996), 57.; Wong Y. K. David, "Xianggang Jinhui Xueyuan Xiaoyuan Sheji Jihua," ["The Plan of Campus Design of Hong Kong Baptist College"] in *Jinlianhui Yue Kan [The Baptist Association Monthly]* (in Chinese) vol. 18 no. 7 (July 1963): 3; Pang, "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhu Jinxi Jianshi," ["A Brief History of the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Te Kan 1938-1988 [Special Memorial Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988]* (Hong Kong), 1989, 17; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II*, 155.

⁵⁶ "The Text of the Commemorative Plaque," 4; "Chinese Colleges Want Position Clarified," *South China Morning Post*, 22 October 1966, Hong Kong.

3,000 students might be admitted in the coming fall. He began negotiating with the government during the 1960s to obtain an interest-free loan of HK\$1,500,000 for that purpose.⁵⁷ However, the loan was not granted until March 26, 1970, when the college completed the registration as a private college under the 1960 Post-secondary College Ordinance, and the amount of the loan was only HK\$100,000 with a 4% annual interest rate.⁵⁸

Before founding Hong Kong Baptist Hospital, the first Baptist medical clinic was temporarily set up at the Brotherly Love Village in 1952 and moved to a flat at Waterloo Road on April 2, 1956, with Dr. Samuel Rankin, a Southern Baptist missionary was in charge. As the need for medical services was tremendous, the government, through the assistance of Grantham, granted the Medical Board of the Baptist Association a piece of land, some 80,000 sq. feet in size, in January 1958. The Baptist Association decided to build a Baptist hospital in May of the same year. The groundbreaking ceremony was held on April 21, 1959, and the clinic section of the hospital was opened on July 1, 1963.⁵⁹

In summary, the lengthy incumbency of Lam as the chairperson of the Baptist Convention set the tone and direction for the development of the Baptist denomination in the post-World War II era of Hong Kong, particularly in its educational and medical ministry. The ventures were engineered by Lam and Grantham. Lam's success in acquiring grants of land and financial subsidy from the government was largely the result of his close relationship with Grantham, the governor of Hong Kong (1947-57). Apparently, the relationship between the Baptist denomination and the government was to a large extent a reflection of the personal relationship between Lam and Grantham. It is no exaggeration to say that the development of the Baptist institutions was a joint-venture between Lam and Grantham. In fact, the acquisitions never failed until Grantham's retirement in 1957. Apparently, the application for an interest-free loan for an assembly hall for Baptist College was the only glitch in Lam's effort to obtain government land and loans. Negotiations for this project dragged on for years until

⁵⁷ "Letter to Sir Alexander Grantham, from Lam Chi-fung, dated 25 February, 1969," in *President Lan Chi Fung - Re: Personal Affairs*, Jun 1961 - Apr 1971, n.d., collected in the Special Collections and Archives, Hong Kong Baptist University Library, Hong Kong.

⁵⁸ Wong, *A History of the Hong Kong Baptist University*, 97-102, 174-75.

⁵⁹ Lam Si-chai, "Yi Liao Bu," ["Medical Board"] in [*Special Memorial Issue for the Twentieth Anniversary of The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association*] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association, 1958), 34; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II*, 146-47.

the registration was approved in 1970, and even then the amount was reduced to the sum of HK\$1,000,000 with interest rate of 4%. This seems to have been Lam's only important setback in the acquisition of governmental subsidies for Baptist institutions.

There is an observation to be drawn from the issue. The government's educational policies and the relationship between the Baptist denomination and the colonial government remained the same. But the new factor which appeared at this point was the appointment of Sir Robert Black as successor to Sir Alexander Grantham as governor of Hong Kong in 1957. Thus the failure of the acquisition can be traced to a change in the relationship between Lam and the governor of Hong Kong. The relationship between Lam and Black was quite different from the relationship between Lam and Grantham. The implication is that the relationship established between Lam and Grantham was crucial to the success in the acquisition of land and the erection of building for Baptist social service institutions.

Laity and Pastors of Baptists on the Acceptance of Government Subsidy

Baptists in Hong Kong in the first hundred years of their history carried out their educational ministry by their own efforts, since their schools were then operated by individual Baptist churches. In order to respond to the social needs in the 1950s, the Baptist Association was involved in the construction of the Brotherly Love Village, a resettlement area for the homeless victims of the disastrous fire at the Old Walled City in January 1950. Baptist First Primary School, the first Baptist primary school run by the Baptist Association, was founded in the Village in 1951. Due to the demolition of the Village in 1970, the residents were resettled in Tsz Wan Shan Resettlement Estate. After years of negotiations between the government and the Baptist Association, the First Primary School was invited to become a government subsidised primary school in the estate. The issue triggered a severe debate on the axiom of church-state separation between the Baptist laity and pastors.⁶⁰ Additional

⁶⁰ The following points were part of the conclusion in the Board of Trustees meeting of the Primary School Board of the Baptist Association on May 18, 1971, which well reflected the major concerns among Baptists:

Firstly, the issue, "Is acceptance of governmental subsidy a breach of the principle of church-state separation?" is still a controversial subject among Baptists all over the world. The Board is trying to tackle the problems that Baptists in Hong Kong are facing, not trying to have a theological debate and to draw any conclusion. Secondly, according to the government, this will be the last case in which a private school is invited to convert to a subsidised school. If the proposal is not accepted, the First Primary School will close down. Then the ministry of the Primary School Board will come to a halt. Thirdly, generally speaking, there are no constraints on religious activities and administrative autonomy

arguments and information were presented in a statement of proposition, submitted to the Executive Board Meeting of the Baptist Association on June 8, 1971, and the important points are as follows:⁶¹ Firstly, the decision on acceptance of the governmental offer was a life-and-death issue to the Baptist educational ministry. Secondly, since the government is about to implement compulsory primary education,⁶² those private schools without governmental subsidy could not survive. Thirdly, the school authorities would be allowed to retain absolute autonomy in personnel management and be at liberty to carry out religious activities after accepting governmental subsidy. The schools run by the Anglican Church, the Church of Christ of China, and other denominations were examples. Fourthly, the population in Tsz Wan Shan district is more than 168, 000 and still growing. According to the principle of practising evangelism in education, school premises could be used after school as a stronghold of evangelism in the district.⁶³

Opinions of the Pros and Cons in the Baptist Publication

Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Yue Kan (Hong Kong Baptist Association Monthly), hereafter *Jin Lian Yue Kan*, is the official publication of the Baptist Association, so it naturally becomes a platform or a forum for Baptists in Hong Kong to express their points of view. Four essays appeared in this publication, from 1958 – 1970, expressing the pros and cons of the issue of governmental subsidy to Christian

for subsidised schools, except the constraints on finances. The premises of the First Primary School can be used as a venue for evangelism after classes. It seems to agree with the educational philosophy of the Baptist Association. Fourthly, after accepting the governmental subsidy, the financial problem of the operative expenses of the First Primary School will be solved. See “*Cu Deng Jiaoyu Bu Changwu Dongshi Huiyi Jilu*,” [“Minutes of the Board of Trustees, the Primary School Board”] 18 May 1971, The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association, (in Chinese) 89-90.

⁶¹ Totally eleven points of argument can be summed up in the statement. See “*Tian: Wei Jinlianhui diyi Xiaoxue Zhi Xingfei Wenti, Jinju Yijianshu, Tiqing Gongjue Tianren: Chu Deng Jiaoyu Bu Zhuxi: Du Zhao Xing Ji Quanti Buyuan*,” [“Motion: A Statement of Proposition on the Future of the Baptist First Primary School and a Request of Vote – Proposer: To Chiu-sing, Chairperson of the Primary School Board, and the Whole Body of the Board,” in “*Cu Deng Jiaoyu Bu Changwu Dongshi Huiyi Jilu*,” [“Minute of the Board of Trustees, the Primary School Board”] 18 May 1971, The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association (in Chinese) (Hong Kong), 91-92.

⁶² David Trench, *Hong Kong 1970, Address by His Excellency the Governor*, 1970. In 1970, Sir David Trench, Governor of Hong Kong, announced that the compulsory primary education would be implemented in 1971 and the parents would be penalised for failing to send their children to primary schools. Cheng Kai-ming, “*Jiao Yu De Hui Gu – Xia Pen*,” [“Retrospection of Education (II)”] in *Hong Kong History: New Perspectives*, Vol. 2 (in Chinese), ed. Wang Gun-wu (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, Hong Kong, Company Ltd.), 1997, 469.

⁶³ “*Cu Deng Jiaoyu Bu Changwu Dongshi Huiyi Jilu*,” [“Minute of the Board of Trustees, the Primary School Board”] 18 May 1971, (in Chinese) 90.

schools.⁶⁴

The First Essay (January 1958) – The earliest opinion on the issue of Christian education and the governmental subsidy was mentioned in an article, “*Jiduhua Xuexiao Zhi Xuyiao*,” (“The Needs of Christianised Schools,”) (1958) by Yuen Bun.⁶⁵ The foci of the article are the following: firstly, there was a general discussion about the educational needs in the colony in the post-World War II period; secondly, the possible ways that the churches could respond to the social situation of Hong Kong; and finally, the potential benefits and difficulties that the churches might encounter in an educational ministry were discussed. Interestingly, the issue of governmental subsidy to Christian schools was not a main issue. However, in his discourse on “making use of churches’ finance and educational professionals,” Yuen says that

...if schools are organised by churches, they would have advantages of financing, prompt approval of registration and simplified procedures, and governmental empathy and assistance, such as a grant of land and an interest-free loan. There are so many existing examples that we do not need to reiterate any here...⁶⁶

Obviously, those “existing examples” mentioned by Yuen must refer to the schools run by other Protestant denominations and the Roman Catholic Church.⁶⁷ Among the denominations after 1950, the Anglican Church made the most notable expansion of its school system. From 1851 to 1974, 46 Anglican primary schools were founded; 31 of them were founded in the period between 1950 and 1974, about 67 percent of the total number of the Anglican primary schools. Regarding the secondary schools, 22 Anglican secondary schools were founded from 1851 to 1974;

⁶⁴ There are another two articles related to Christian education published in *The Baptist Association Monthly* in 1967 and 1970, however, the authors do not discuss the issue of governmental subsidy. See Auyeung Hing-cheung, “*Jiaohui Shi Ban Xuexiao De Mubiao*,” [“Objectives for Running Schools by Churches”] *The Baptist Association Monthly* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 22, 1 (1967), 3; Wong Y. K. David, “*Jidujiao De Zhong Deng Jiao Yu*,” [“Christian Secondary Education”] *The Baptist Association Monthly* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 25, 6 (1970), 2. Their foci mainly on the discourse of objectives of Christian education and the social functions of Christian education. The Rev. Au Yeung Hing-cheung was an ordained Baptist pastor and an administrative staff of the Baptist Association. Wong Y. K. David was then Chairperson of the Middle Schools Board.

⁶⁵ Yuen Bun, “*Jiduhua Xuexiao Zhi Xuyiao*,” [“The Needs of Christianised Schools”] *The Baptist Association Monthly* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 13, 1 (1958): 6-7. The background of the author is unknown.

⁶⁶ Yuen, “*Jiduhua Xuexiao Zhi Xuyiao*,” [“The Needs of Christianised Schools”] 6.

⁶⁷ In Western world, the term ‘Christian’ usually includes Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Eastern Orthodox; however, the term is more narrowly used in Hong Kong. ‘Christian’ usually refers to Protestant only; member of the Roman Catholic Church is called ‘Catholic’. Protestant and the Roman Catholic are traditionally and historically treated as two separate entities, and would be addressed separately in Chinese societies, such as Hong Kong, Mainland China, and Taiwan, even overseas Chinese communities.

14 of them were founded in the period between 1950 and 1974, about 64 percent of the total number of the Anglican secondary schools.⁶⁸ In the 1950s, 30 secondary schools were the most prestigious and classified as elite. The government directly ran five of them and churches or church organisations ran the remainder.⁶⁹

As mentioned above, although the main theme of Yuen's article was not the governmental subsidy for Christian schools, Yuen apparently voiced a growing awareness among Baptists that they were falling behind in the Christian educational ministry when compared with other denominations. Undoubtedly, Yuen can be regarded as the first public voice implicitly urging the Hong Kong Baptist community to consider the availability of governmental resources and to capitalise on them in developing its Christian education ministry.

The Second Essay (June 1966) – The second article addressing the issue of governmental subsidy to Christian education was “Church and State Relationship,” (1966) by the Rev. Dr. Wong Yat-keung Paul, the then pastor-in-charge of Hong Kong Baptist Church.⁷⁰ As with Yuen, the Rev. Wong did not make the issue of governmental subsidy to Christian schools his main theme, but presented a concise discourse on the church-state relationship from a Baptist perspective. However, the issue is only brought up at the end of the article under the heading of “Practical Perplexity.” He observes how the East and the West have different practical concerns as they formulate principles regarding the church-state relationship:

This principle has gradually drawn the attention in Western world, especially societies with Christian context, for the sake of preventing the government from the influence of the church. Nevertheless, when this principle is advocated in the Oriental, which is Christian background-free, its objective is to ensure the church is free from government's interference.

...Westerners are afraid of the over-expanded church influence, and

⁶⁸ Chan Shun-hing, “Xianggang Zheng Jiao Guanxi De San Zhong Moshi,” [“Three Patterns of Church-State Relationship in Hong Kong”] *REFLECTION* (in Chinese), No. 62 (1999), 5.

⁶⁹ Kwok Nai-wang, *A Church in Transition* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Christian Institute), 1997, 4. “Famous” and “elite” are mainly defined by the academic standards. Those elite Christian secondary schools include: “Ying Wa College (1892) and Ying Wa Girls School (1900) started by the London Mission Society; St. Paul's Boys' and Girls' School, Diocesan Girls' School, Diocesan Boys' school, St. Stephen Girls' School and St. Stephen Boys' School, started by the Anglican Church Missionary Society; Wah Yan College Hong Kong and Wah Yan College Kowloon by the Jesuit society; La Salle College and St. Joseph College by Brothers of the Christian Schools; Maryknoll Convent School and Marymount school by the Maryknoll Sisters of St. Dominica; and St. Paul's Convent School by the Sisters of St. Paul de Charters.” Cited from Kwok, *A Church in Transition*, 17.

⁷⁰ Wong Yat-keung Paul, “Church and State Relationship,” *The Baptist Association Monthly* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 21, 6 (1966): 4-6.

Orientalists are worried about the church affairs being interfered with by the government.⁷¹

The Rev. Wong illustrates the concerns of churches in the West by citing parts of a report of the Committee of the Studies of Church-State Relations, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (UPCUSA), presented in the annual meeting of 1962. According to the Rev. Wong, the report proposes to abrogate the social privileges that the churches are enjoying and to renounce the religious spirit established in the earliest stage of the nation. The report criticises a number of practices, such as Bible classes in public schools, Christian holidays, Christian ceremonies held by the government, tax-exemption of the churches, Christian chaplains' salary paid by the government, and military service-exemption of pastors. It seems that the draftspersons of the report are worried about the excessive advantages taken by the churches and trying to rescue the government from the snares set by the churches.⁷² Contrarily, the churches in Hong Kong and other parts of the Oriental face other kinds of pitfalls. The Rev. Wong then ends the article with a series of questions:

If the existing privileges of the churches in the West are criticized by some Christians, and we are giving a warm welcome to the future privileges, are we making progress or going backward?...Should Baptists capitalise on the secular forces to run the business of the Kingdom of God? Would God want us to do something beyond our capability? Would God be pleased with our secular ways of serving Him? For instance, would the cooperation between the church and the government in education commit a fault of mutual-utilization? Since it is our unavoidable obligation to act in accordance with the law and regulations, we are bound to be passive in the interactions with the government; should we even voluntarily submit our autonomy to the government that would cause us to be under its control?⁷³

The gist of the Rev. Wong's discourse appears to be the series of questions in the last paragraph of the article. His argument for opposing the idea of capitalizing on the governmental subsidy in developing Baptist educational ministry is based on his solid discussion of the Baptist principle of church-state separation. As discussed previously, there was a decline of the pupil enrolment of the First Primary School in the mid-1960s, partly due to the opening of new government and subsidised schools

⁷¹ Ibid., 6.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

in the district and the fact that their tuition fees were less expensive. It can be argued that the demand to accept governmental subsidy had arisen among the Baptist lay-leaders in part to prevent the closure of Baptist First Primary School. The rising pressure from the laity might also have motivated the Rev. Wong, a leading local Baptist pastor, to respond to the challenge from a theological and ecclesiological perspective. In fact, this inference is confirmed by the Rev. Wong in his letter that: "Reading between the lines, you can know my position on the issue stated at the end of my short essay...the issue had been postponed a number of years, since the essay was written in 1966..."⁷⁴

The Third Essay (July 1966) – The third essay discussing the educational issue was "*Jiaohui Yu Yi Pen Jiaoyu*," ("Church and General Education,") (1966) by the Rev. Princeton S. Hsu, one of the most senior local Baptist pastors and a renowned scholar on church history, particularly Chinese Baptist history and the then pastor-in-charge of Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church. The concerns of the essay are threefold: Firstly, there is a discourse on Christian education and general education in the West; secondly, there is a brief history of Christian education in China and the contemporary situation; and finally, there is an outlook of Christian education in the Chinese society.⁷⁵ While the Rev. Hsu does not deal directly with the issue of government subsidy, the discourse does address the issue indirectly.

In the section of "The Spirit of The Liang Guang Baptist Association," the Rev. Hsu points out that in China in the 1920's there was a widespread demand that Chinese churches be self-dependent, self-financing, and self-proclaiming. The Leung Kwong Baptist Association⁷⁶ could be regarded as the most successful Christian body in China to promote the principle. At the conference, the local members were strongly encouraged to contribute to offering and to manage their own ministry, as in the case of the Guangzhou Pui Ching Middle School and The Liang Guang Hospital.⁷⁷ "Diminishing the dependence on mission societies" and "never

⁷⁴ Wong Yat-keung Paul to author (in Chinese), 14 March 2002, 2.

⁷⁵ Princeton S. Hsu, "Church and General Education" *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Yue Kan* [*The Baptist Association Monthly*] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 21, 7-8 (1966): 6-9

⁷⁶ The Leung Kwong Baptist Association was organised in 1885 in Zhaoqing, Guangzhou, Guangdong Province, which was the headquarters of Baptists in South China. "Leung Kwong" is an abbreviation for the provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi. For history of The Leung Kwong Baptist Association, see Lau, *Guangzhou Jidujiao Gai Kuang Liang Guang Jinxinhui Shi Lue* [*An Overview of Protestantism in Guangzhou and the Baptist History in the Provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi*], 145-211; Crawley, *Partners Across the Pacific: China and Southern Baptist*, 39-44..

⁷⁷ The Leung Kwong Baptist Hospital was established in 1913 in Dong Shan, Guangzhou, by a

accepting governmental subsidy” were the greatest principles embodied by The Liang Guang Baptist Association, which is worthy of our praise.⁷⁸

The Rev. Hsu, in the last part of the essay, further anticipates the future of Christian education. Firstly, the governments assume the responsibility of general education, and the number of public schools would increase, particularly in independent countries. Secondly, there would be a great need for Christian education while the government is unable to fulfill its responsibility. However, Christian education would encounter more difficulties in Oriental countries, mainly due to the constraints on finance and on equal opportunity to all religions. Churches have to consider whether it is worthy to invest so much personnel and money in education, since this might even be a hindrance to their own development. Finally, Christian education carried out by churches does not necessarily refer to general education, but to Sunday school, discipleship training, and family religious training. It is a government’s obligation to provide general education to the people. The reference to “teaching” in Matthew 4:23 means spiritual teaching, not secular education in general. Therefore, Sunday school would be the venue where churches lead people to Christ accordingly.⁷⁹

In summary, the Rev. Hsu’s opinion toward the issue of Christian education and governmental subsidy can be stated in three points: firstly, governmental subsidy for Christian education is absolutely unacceptable; secondly, general education should be provided by government, not by churches; and finally, the wisdom of enormous financial investment in general education by churches should be reconsidered, as the authentic objective of churches should be spiritual teaching, not general education.

The Fourth Essay (June 1970) – The fourth article tackling the issue of governmental subsidy to Baptist schools was “*Cong Lianhu Chu Deng Jiaoyu Wenti Er Tan Dao Jinhui Xuexiao Ying Fou Jieshou Zhengfu Jintie*” (“The Problem of Primary Education of the Baptist Association and the Problem of Accepting Governmental Subsidy by the Baptist Schools,”) (1970) by To Chiu-sing, the then Chairperson of the Primary School Board of the Baptist Association.⁸⁰

local Baptist doctor, Cheung Sun-kai, and sponsored by some thirty Baptist members. See Lau, *Guangzhou Jidujiao Gai Kuang Liang Guang Jinxinhui Shi Lue* [An Overview of Protestantism in Guangzhou and the Baptist History in the Provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi], 73-74.

⁷⁸ Hsu, *Jiaohui Yu Yi Pen Jiaoyu*, “Church and General Education”] 8.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 9.

⁸⁰ To Chiu-sing, “*Cong Lianhu Chu Deng Jiaoyu Wenti Er Tan Dao Jinhui Xuexiao Ying Fou*

In his article, To basically articulates his opinion on the issue of Baptist schools accepting governmental subsidy and his understanding of the principle of the church-state separation. Firstly, he states that the issue of whether Baptist schools should accept governmental subsidy has been debated among Baptists in Hong Kong for more than a decade. He says that Baptists are totally bewildered by the arguments and a problem of such perplexity seems to be impossible to solve.⁸¹ He thinks that the issue of governmental subsidy is 'a matter of reality':

Let's take a look at the populous resettlement areas. The government allows schools to be established both on the roof and on the ground floor. Recently, the government even provides school premises to the church organisations and incorporations who apply for running schools. The applicants, who are responsible for the renovation expenses and a dollar monthly charge, can own a government subsidised school. Regarding the religious curriculum and activities, there is no special restriction so far and the only requirement is to apply for permission. For many years, the understatement of the principle of the church-state separation by our Association has caused us to neglect the opportunities of running schools in the most populous districts and fostering the new generations by Christian education. What a shame we did not grasp the opportunity...If we can take over an existing school premises by utilising a handful of our talented people and small amount of money, we are able to offer greater contribution to the citizens. Why not?⁸²

To considers education to be the responsibility of both the government and the public. He tries to develop his argument by asking a question: Is it possible that our children would not be allowed to enter the subsidised or governmental schools if Baptists do not run their own subsidised schools? If the answer is negative, it means that we have an obligation to run subsidised schools to ensure that our children enjoy the privilege of subsidised education.⁸³

Secondly, To presents his understanding of the principle of the church-state separation:

From the standpoint of the faith, I absolutely support the church-state separation. However...the Baptist Association as a legal incorporation is entitled to accept the subsidy for hiring its church members to work for the educational business and to witness

Jieshou Zhengfu Jintie," ["The Problem of Primary Education of the Baptist Association and the Problem of Accepting Governmental Subsidy by the Baptist Schools,"] *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Yue Kan* [Hong Kong Baptist Association Monthly] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 25, 6 (1970): 3.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

to the Lord. There is nothing wrong with it as the governmental subsidy is given to the schools, pupils, teachers, and staffs, not to the churches and ministers. To my understanding, the church-state separation means the church is not in the position to lead the government or participate in politics (but it does not mean that individual members are not allowed to take part), and the government should not interfere in the true faith. If the scripture, "give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's," is used as the argument that schools should not accept governmental subsidy, it seems to be too vague, as Jesus was answering to a question which was designed to set him up...that either of the answers would label Jesus as a traitor to the Jews or a traitor to the Roman government. But Jesus' response gave them no chance to the plotters. In Matt. 17:24-27, Jesus paid tax to the tax-collector in Capernaum. In Rom. 13:1-7, Paul teaches us that we must submit ourselves to the government authorities. Obviously, the main point is that our life cannot be separated from the rights and obligations to the government authorities. Jesus always preached and taught in the synagogues which were the venue of education. Hence, we know that Jesus not only saved people's soul, but also emphasised on education. Concerning the problem that if the education at that time was subsidised or not, we were told by the Old Testament that religion and education were in unity, as there was no church-state separation in Israel. In modern societies, education system is no longer controlled by the church and belongs to the responsibility of government and people. Thus, we can quit from running subsidised schools, but can we keep our children from studying at the government schools or subsidised schools? If the answer is no, it means that we have both the rights and the obligations. It is our obligations to run the schools when we accept government subsidies.⁸⁴

To's assertion seems to be mainly pragmatic, not from a theological perspective. Governmental subsidy to Baptist schools appears to be acceptable provided that the government does not interfere in the religious curriculum and activities. He challenges the aptness of the Baptists' practice of the church-state separation, which he claims that it has hindered the development of the Baptist educational ministry in Hong Kong. He implies that Baptists have missed golden opportunities for evangelism through education in the past while other denominations have fully capitalised on the opportunities and resources. As a part of society, the Baptist Association should fulfill its obligation as a provider of subsidised schools, since Baptists already enjoy the privilege of subsidised education.

Regarding the issue of church-state separation, To voices one of the most

⁸⁴ Ibid.

common and basic viewpoints held by some Hong Kong Baptists, without clearly defining the terms in his argument: "The church is not in a position to lead the government or participate in politics (but it does not mean that individual members are not allowed to take part), and the government should not interfere in the true faith." However, his insistence on the appropriateness of Baptists accepting governmental subsidy shows his negligence of the complicated nature of the governmental subsidy and a lack of awareness of the related issue in the United States.⁸⁵

To thinks that his argument appears to be justifiable as long as the governmental subsidy be given to the schools, pupils, teachers, and staffs, not to the churches and ministers. In his mind, there seems to be no violation of the principle of the church-state separation. Nevertheless, To seems to overlook an important implication of the principle, public funds should not sponsor religious activities or activities carried out for religious purposes. Since one of the major objectives of running Christian schools, asserted in the statement of proposition of the Primary School Board, is to practise "evangelism in education" and to utilise the school premises "as a stronghold of evangelism in the district" after school. It is clear that it is the religious nature of the business which is a breach of the principle of separation of church and state.

To's essay can be regarded as his manifesto of the ideal Baptist educational ministry. As the Primary School Board stood for the prime voice of the pros, so To, the Chairperson of the Board, was considered to be one of the lay-leaders in the campaign. As discussed above, Baptist First Primary School in Brotherly Love Village in 1970 seemed to be entering its final stage, as its future was uncertain without government subsidy. To's essay was therefore a timely statement for pleading the cause of government subsidised Baptist schools.

The Laity Against the Pastors

The political ecology within the Baptist Association on the issue was basically a dichotomy between the pros- and cons- factions. The former was set up by the laity and the latter formed by the local Baptist pastors. There were heated debates and

⁸⁵ To be discussed in the section, "Government Aid to the Southern Baptist Institutions in America," in this chapter.

disagreement on the issue of the acceptance of governmental subsidy by the First Baptist Primary among Baptists in Hong Kong. Furthermore, the issue led to a confrontation between the laity and pastors.⁸⁶ The Rev. Lau Fuk-chuen, class of 1953 in Ministry Preparation of the Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary and retired in 1989, and the Rev. Dr. Chan C. Y. Calvin, class of 1955 in B.D. of the Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary and the Pastor-in-charge of Shamshuipo Swatow Baptist Church presently, both agree that subsidy was an certainly an explosive issue among Baptists.⁸⁷ The editor of *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Yue Kan* (Hong Kong Baptist Association Monthly) implies the existence of a tense atmosphere in the Baptist Association in his editorial note to the article, “*Wei ‘Diyijia Xuesiao’*: Fangwen Xiangang Jinxinhui Lianhui Zhuxi Huang Ri Qiang Mushu,” (“Interviewing the Rev. Wong Yat-keung Paul, Chairperson of the Baptist Association, for the ‘First Subsidised School’”) that a number of intensive meetings were held in the Baptist Association for discussing the issue in order to seek a compromise for the establishment of the first subsidised school.⁸⁸

Within the cons-faction, the Rev. Wong Yat-keung Paul was reckoned as the most prominent figure. The major reason for his leadership, in addition to his pastoral position at the first and largest Baptist church in the colony from 1958 to 1975, was his seniority. The Rev. Wong was a member of the class of 1955 at the Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary with a B.D degree and the chairperson of the Hong Kong Chinese Christian Churches Union⁸⁹ in 1970, and of the Baptist Association in 1971.⁹⁰ Since the issue of the governmental subsidy to the Baptist school occurred in his incumbency, the Rev. Wong was actively involved in the process of the

⁸⁶ Wong Yat-keung Paul to author (in Chinese), 8 March 2002.

⁸⁷ Lau Fuk-chuen, interview by author, tape recording, Kowloon, HKSAR, 31 December 2002 (in Chinese); Chan C. Y. Calvin, interview by author, tape recording, Kowloon, HKSAR, 21 December 2002 (in Chinese).

⁸⁸ Editorial Staff, “*Wei ‘Diyijia Xuesiao’*: Fangwen Xiangang Jinxinhui Lianhui Zhuxi Huang Ri Qiang Mushu,” [“Interview the Rev. Wong Yat-keung Paul, Chairperson of The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association, for the ‘First Subsidised School’,”] *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Yue Kan* [Hong Kong Baptist Association Monthly] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 26, 7 (1971):2.

⁸⁹ It is an inter-denominational organisation of the local Chinese churches in Hong Kong, founded in 1915, originally named Hong Kong Chinese Christian Churches Union Incorporation.

⁹⁰ Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 131. The Rev. Dr. Wong Yat-keung Paul earned his Th. M. from The Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary in 1965 and Ph.D. from The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in 1974. His Ph.D. dissertation was the first academic research on the history of Hong Kong Baptists. Lee says the Rev. Wong Yat-keung Paul studied in the U.S. during the period of 1972-1975; however, according to the Rev. Wong’s personal letter to author, he states the period of his studies was 1972-1974. See Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 14 March 2002, 1.

consultation within the Baptist Association.⁹¹ The cons-faction was comprised of both local Baptist pastors and Southern Baptist missionaries. However, they by no means had strong solidarity but split into three groups: absolutely not acceptable, somehow acceptable, and equivocal. The number of the first group was very few and the last was the majority.⁹² The radical minority was deeply influenced by the Rev. Ronald W. Fuller, a Southern Baptist missionary who arrived in Hong Kong in the early 1950s. The Rev. Fuller taught practical theology, church history, ethics, and Baptist faith at the Baptist Seminary.⁹³ He was famous for his persistence in the practice of church-state separation and his strong opposition to the proposal of governmental subsidy to Baptist schools.⁹⁴ Undoubtedly, the principal concern among the pastors was the idea of church-state separation, which was threatened by the extent of the government's potential intervention. When the government promised not to interfere with school administration or religious classes and activities, many local Baptist pastors' position tended to be modified, as they considered that it was a sign of church-state separation. As a matter of fact, the government's willingness to allow the establishing of a chapel or church in subsidised school premises was appealing to many local pastors.⁹⁵ The allurements were that a church or chapel not only would be allowed to use the premises free-of-charge, but could also carry out its evangelism ministry exclusively among the students and their families. When Baptist churches began to use their subsidised schools as their "field of

⁹¹ Wong Yat-keung Paul to author (in Chinese), 8 April 2002, 1.

⁹² Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 14 March 2002, 1.

⁹³ Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 8 April 2002, 2; Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 14 March 2002, 2. Ronald W. Fuller (1916-1988) started his mission work in Macau in 1948 and was one of seven Southern Baptist missionaries who organised the Hong Kong-Macao Baptist Mission in Hong Kong in 1952. He went to South Vietnam in 1964 for serving the Chinese communities there until 1972. After returning to the U.S. in 1973, he kept committing himself to the ministry among Chinese until his passing in 1988. See James Hollis, "A Sketch of Life of the Rev. Ronald W. Fuller," (in Chinese) trans. Lee Sui-fan, in "*Fu Lun De Mushi Sangli Yi Jie*," ["Programme of Memorial Service for the Rev. Ronald W. Fuller"] Tsimshatsui Baptist Church, Hong Kong, 25 September 1988; Pang Hok-tan, "Huai Nian Fu Lun De Mushi," ["In Memory of the Rev. Ronald Fuller"] *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Yue Kan* [*The Baptist Association Monthly*] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 43, 10 (1988): 7. The Rev. James Hollis, a retired Southern Baptist missionary who was sent to Hong Kong in the mid-1950s, acknowledges the influence of the Rev. Full and describes, "He was involved in teaching in the seminary shortly after its founding, even while he lived in Macau, he commuted to Hong Kong. There is no doubt that he had a great influence on the seminary students studying in his classes." See James Hollis to author, 15 December 2002.

⁹⁴ Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 8 April 2002, 2; Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 14 March 2002, 2.

⁹⁵ Chan C. Y. Calvin, interview by author, tape recording, 21 December 2002; Lau Fuk-chuen, interview by author, tape recording, 31 December 2002; Wong Chung, interview by author, tape recording, Macau, 6 September 2002 (in Chinese); Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 14 March 2002, 1-2.

evangelism,” they were following a practice commonly done by other denominations for decades. Since the 1960’s, churches had come to regard the practice as a major factor contributing to church growth in Hong Kong.⁹⁶

On the other hand, the members of the pros-faction were mostly lay-leaders whose rationale was mainly derived from the practical considerations. Seemingly, To Chiu-sing, the most outspoken among the lay-leaders, fully represented the stance of this faction. However, the Rev. Wong points out that To was only a spokesman or representative of a group of lay-leaders in the Baptist Association who were in favour of accepting the governmental subsidy.⁹⁷ There were some other influential lay-leaders who strongly favoured the government subsidy to the Baptist First Primary School, including such as well-known leaders as Lam Si-hin Daniel, Wong Yue-kwong David, Tse Chi-wai Daniel, and Chiu Hin-kwong. However, Lam Chi-fung appeared to be strongly opposed to the proposal. As recalled by the Rev. Calvin C. Y. Chan, Lam warned, in a meeting, that Baptists needed to be ready to accept the possibility of eventually losing the subsidised Baptist school after accepting the governmental subsidy, i.e. the subsidised school might someday become a public school.⁹⁸

According to the Rev. Wong’s observation, at least two factors seemed to have inspired the laity’s pursuit of school subsidy: Firstly, the flourishing educational ministry of other denominations was so appealing that it made them urge the Baptist Association to catch up with others.⁹⁹ This point was well reflected in Yuen’s and To’s essays. Secondly, the salaries of teachers of subsidised schools were much higher than those in private schools. If the subsidy proposal were accepted by the Baptist Association, teachers in Baptist schools would benefit financially. Such

⁹⁶ Tse Chi-wai Daniel, interview by author, tape recording, Hong Kong, 1 March 2002 (in Chinese); Chan C. Y. Calvin, interview by author, tape recording, 21 December 2002; Lau Fuk-chuen, interview by author, tape recording, 31 December 2002; Wong Chung, interview by author, tape recording, 6 September 2002.

⁹⁷ Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 8 April 2002, 1.

⁹⁸ Chan C. Y. Calvin, interview by author, tape recording, 21 December 2002. Lam Si-hin Daniel is Lam Chi-fung’s son; David Yue-kwong Wong, an engineer, helped Lam Chi-fung in most of the construction projects of the Baptist institutions; Dr. Tse Chi-wai Daniel, was the successor to Lam as 2nd President of the Hong Kong Baptist College; and Dr. Chiu Hin-kwong, a medical doctor, was the Chair of the Medical Board of the Baptist Association. They all held the crucial positions in the Boards of Middle Education, Tertiary Education, and Medicine of the Baptist Association.

Regarding Lam’s opposition to the governmental subsidy, it sounds weird and inconsistent with his approach to the founding of Hong Kong Baptist College. It is because some documents clearly show that Lam had high expectation of a merger between Hong Kong Baptist College and Chinese University of Hong Kong. Why wasn’t he worried about the loss of control of the College?

⁹⁹ Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 8 April 2002, 2.

factors could make it easy for Baptist leaders to ignore the principle of church-state separation.¹⁰⁰ In an article by Lam Chi-fung, "The Work and Life of the Teachers and Staff of Pui Ching Middle School," published in March 1957, he mentions that "[t]he workload of the teachers and staff of Pui Ching is so heavy; nevertheless, their salaries are much lower than the salaries of the teachers and staff of government and grant schools. The rent they paid usually is half of their total income and the living standard keeps rising."¹⁰¹ In fact, the differences in teachers' salaries among private schools, subsidised schools, grant schools, and government schools were substantial.¹⁰² According to Anthony Sweeting, one of the items of the educational reform of Hong Kong in the early 1950s was "to pay qualified teachers in subsidized schools at the same rates as those employed in government and grant schools..."¹⁰³ That meant that if Baptist First Primary School were successfully converted to a subsidised school from a private school, the salary of the teachers would increase significantly. More importantly, once the case of Baptist First Primary School was established, more Baptist schools would follow, and more teachers and staff would benefit from the new development.

In summary, an enhancement of the image of the Baptist Association, a brighter prospect of the Baptist educational ministry, and possible economic benefits to some individual members, who were teachers, might be the incentives for the laity to engage in the campaign. The Rev. Wong comments that "the laity was one-sided to the proposal as they were pragmatic on the issue."¹⁰⁴

Unceasing Plea among Baptists for Governmental Subsidies

The fact that there were only two articles written by the lay-leaders in the 1950's

¹⁰⁰ Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 8 March 2002; Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 8 April 2002, 2.

¹⁰¹ Lam's purpose of writing the article was to deliver a message to the pupils and their parents of Pui Ching Middle School that the school authorities were considering an increase of tuition fee in order to overcome the financial difficulties, mainly for the increase of the salaries of teachers and staff. See Chi-fung Lam, "Peizheng Zhongxue Jiaozhiyuan De Gongzuo He Shenghuo," ["The Work and Life of the Teachers and Staff of Pui Ching Middle School"] in King-sun Lee, ed., *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, O.B.E., LL.D.* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 201.

¹⁰² Anthony Sweeting, *A Phoenix Transformed: The Reconstruction of Education in Post-War Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1993) 7-8. The education in Hong Kong was basically "a quadripartite system" before World War II. This consisted of government schools, grant schools (mainly missionary origin), subsidised schools, and private schools. Among them, private schools had the lowest status of all.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 162.

¹⁰⁴ Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 14 March 2002, 1.

and 1960's expressing their strong desire to have Baptist subsidised schools should not suggest that supporters' efforts to gain subsidy for Baptist subsidised school were not substantial. In fact, their attempts were continuous from the founding of Baptist First Primary School in 1951.

Primary School Board – The feasibility of having governmental subsidy was first discussed formally in a meeting of the Education Board¹⁰⁵ of the Baptist Association on 27 February 1954. A report was made by the Chairperson of the Board, Siu Cheong-yip, on a study of the procedures to be followed to apply for governmental subsidy.¹⁰⁶ In the next meeting, held a week later, Chairperson Siu made a follow-up report, saying that the plan to seek governmental subsidy had been scraped, after a thorough consultation about an inappropriate situation which had arisen.¹⁰⁷

While the First Primary School had been steadily developing in the mid-1950s, the government offered to subsidise the school and the issue was discussed in the meeting of the Education Board on 15 March 1955. However, the offer was somehow rejected by the Board without stating a specific reason. The wording of the resolution was ambiguous, seeming to imply that it was inappropriate to accept the offer at that time.¹⁰⁸ Eventually, a request to apply for the governmental subsidy was unanimously passed by the Primary School Board in 1958.¹⁰⁹ However the motion was not on the agenda of the Executive Meeting until June 1971.

Middle Schools Board – The Middle Schools Board¹¹⁰ of the Baptist

¹⁰⁵ The Education Board was renamed Primary Education Board in 1954. See "*Chu Deng Jiaoyu Bu*," ["Primary Education Board"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Sishijie Nianhui Te Kan* [Special Memorial Issue for the Forty Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1979), 39.

¹⁰⁶ "*Jiaoyu Bu Weijiyuan Di Er Ci Huiyi Jilu*," ["Minutes of 2nd Education Board Meeting"] 27 February 1954, The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association (in Chinese) (Hong Kong).

¹⁰⁷ "*Jiaoyu Bu Weijiyuan Di San Ci Huiyi Jilu*," ["Minutes of 3rd Education Board Meeting," 5 March 1954, The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association (in Chinese) (Hong Kong). However, the minutes did not specify what were the "inappropriate situation" and "the related parties."

¹⁰⁸ "*Jiaoyu Bu Di Yi Ci Huiyi: Jiaoyu Bu Ji Choujian Hewentian Xiaoxue Xiaozu Lianxi Huiyi*," ["Minutes of 1st Joint Meeting of the Education Board and the Preparatory Construction Group of Homantin Primary School"] 15 March 1955, The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association (in Chinese) (Hong Kong).

¹⁰⁹ "*Yi Jiu Wu Ba Nian Du Chu Deng Jiao Yu Bu Di Yi Ci Huiyi Jilu*," ["Minutes of 1st Meeting of the Primary School Board in 1958"] 14 April 1958, The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association (in Chinese) (Hong Kong).

¹¹⁰ The Middle Schools Board was established in the Annual Meeting in 1958 after the Boards of Trustees of Pui Ching Middle School and Pooi To Girls' Middle School "voted to withdraw from the association, to disband these two boards and to ask the association to re-elect one Board of Trustees for

Association seemed to be equally aggressive in pursuing the goal of acquiring governmental subsidy. In the Board's meeting on June 25, 1959, there was a report about the proposal submitted by the Rev. Ronald O. Hall, the Anglican Bishop in Hong Kong, to the Education Department regarding governmental subsidy for teachers' salaries of all Christian schools in Hong Kong.¹¹¹ A year later, the issue was formally discussed in the Board meeting on June 23, 1960; namely, whether or not the Baptist schools should accept government subsidies for their teachers. The resolution was that the salary subsidy would be acceptable provided that the government would not interfere in the management.¹¹²

In a workshop on the educational ministry of the Baptist Association, a report was made on the feasibility of running an English school, and its conclusion was that it was unlikely that such a school could be maintained if there was no governmental subsidy.¹¹³ The issue of governmental subsidy to Baptist schools was discussed in a Board meeting again on December 6, 1962, but no resolution was made.¹¹⁴

Stance of the Hong Kong-Macao Baptist Mission

Meanwhile, the issue of acquiring land, interest-free loans, and subsidy of construction expenses from the government for Pui Ching Middle School and Pooi To Girls' Middle School was on the Board's agenda from September 9, 1963.¹¹⁵ A series of meetings were held until Pui Ching Middle School accepted the government's offer to become a subsidised school in 1975. In the meantime, the Hong Kong-Macao Baptist Mission (the Mission) became concerned about these

both schools" in 1957. See Irma Frank, ed. & trans., "Twenty Years History of The Hong Kong Baptist Association," 7; "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershi Zhounian Lishi," ["Twenty Years History of The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association"] appendix, p 8.

¹¹¹ "Zhong Deng Jiao Yu Bu Di Shi Wu Ci Huiyi Jilu," ["Minutes of 9th Meeting of the Board of Trustees"] 25 June 1959, The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association (in Chinese) (Hong Kong).

¹¹² "Zhong Deng Jiao Yu Bu Di Shi Wu Ci Huiyi Jilu," ["Minutes of 15th Meeting of the Middle Schools Board"] 23 June 1960, The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association (in Chinese) (Hong Kong).

¹¹³ "Gao Deng Zhong Deng Chu Deng Jiao Yu Bu Di San Ci Zuotanhui Jilu," ["Minutes of 3rd Workshop of the Boards of Tertiary Education, Middle and Primary Schools"] 21 January 1961, The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association (in Chinese) (Hong Kong).

¹¹⁴ "Zhong Deng Jiao Yu Bu Changwu Dongshi Di Ershier Ci Huiyi (Jilu)," ["Minutes of 22nd Meeting of the Board of Trustees, the Middle School Board"] 6 December 1962, The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association (in Chinese) (Hong Kong).

¹¹⁵ "Zhong Deng Jiao Yu Bu Quanti Dongshi Di Sanshiqi Ci Huiyi (Jilu)," ["Minutes of 37th Meeting of the Board of Trustees, the Middle School Board"] 19 September 1963, The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association (in Chinese) (Hong Kong).

activities.¹¹⁶ A committee was set up on April 6, 1961 to “investigate the relationship of Hong Kong Baptist churches and church schools to the government concerning receiving of government subsidy.”¹¹⁷ The Mission reacted to the issue of government subsidies for the Baptist institutions in four ways:

Firstly, a resolution was passed on June 16, 1961 stating that the Foreign Mission Board funds would not be available for those Baptist schools accepting government subsidies, and a letter was written to the Baptist Association informing it of the action:

To recommend that all Baptist Association and church-operated schools only seek and accept funds made available by private non-government agencies or individuals for their capital or operating expenses and that the Mission go on record as not being willing to request Foreign Mission Board funds for schools which receive government subsidies and that the Association be informed by letter regarding this action of the Mission.¹¹⁸

Secondly, a follow-up action was taken by the Mission on June 15, 1962, including a request for confirmation from the Baptist institutions and churches that they were government subsidy-free and a reiteration of the Mission’s policies on the issue:

That we request confirmation from each Institution, church or chapel to which we give capital or operating funds that they do not intend to receive Government subsidy...

To re-iterate the previous actions of the Mission and statements made by Dr. Crawley concerning our policies with regard to our Baptist schools receiving government subsidy and that these be presented in writing by our delegates to the study committee (on Government subsidies).¹¹⁹

Thirdly, Winston Crawley, Secretary of Orient for the Foreign Mission Board (FMB) of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC), commented on the issue during a Mission meeting, stressing the importance of complying with the principle of church-state separation and emphasizing that no funds would be given to any

¹¹⁶ Carter Morgan confirmed that the church-state question apparently was a “hot” question among the missionaries in Hong Kong in the late 1950s and 1960s. Carter Morgan, interview by author, tape recording, South Carolina, USA, 6 May 2002 (in English); Carter Morgan to author (in English), 11 November 2002.

¹¹⁷ “Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, 6 April 1961,” *Minutes of Hong Kong-Macao Baptist Mission of the American Southern Baptist Convention 1961* (Hong Kong, Hong Kong-Macao Mission, SBC, 1962), 44.

¹¹⁸ “Subject: Regarding Government Subsidies For Baptist Institutions,” in “1960-61 Miscellaneous Reports, Meetings, etc.,” collected in Hong Kong Baptist Mission, The International Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

institution violating the principle:

The Convention (Southern Baptist) abides by the traditional Baptist principle of the separation of church and state. The Board (Foreign Mission Board) would not expect to allocate funds to an institution receiving government subsidy.¹²⁰

Finally, Crawley's reply to the Mission on this particular issue in Hong Kong, dated June 28, 1962, can be regarded as the FMB's official stance regarding the controversy. In the letter, Crawley first reiterated the Southern Baptist Convention's commitment to the principle of church-state separation and then added his personal opinions as to whether or not the issue of land acquisition and government subsidies to Baptist schools represented a compromise of the principle. Since Crawley admitted there might be room for interpretation in different contexts, he said it would be important for the FMB to understand the context and meanings of the issues in question. Personally, he would not consider land grants a problem. However, he could not judge whether the government subsidies should be considered a compromise. The following quotation of the letter, though lengthy, is noteworthy, as it clarifies the issue in the Hong Kong context:

Of course you and the other missionaries are aware of our basic approach in matters of this sort. We do not attempt to tell Baptist churches and associations or conventions what decisions they should make. We do feel it is only right they should understand in advance our own position and the convictions of Southern Baptists since there are strong convictions on separation of church and state which we would not want to compromise. A policy of acceptance of direct government subsidies on the part of schools operated by the Baptists of Hong Kong would make it difficult for the Foreign Mission Board to continue financial aid to the Baptist schools there.

As for the specific questions raised by the mission, there are possible variations of interpretations or opinions as to the extent to which the principle of church-state separation would be compromised.

With basic laws and policies in Hong Kong regarding land ownership being what they are, we have felt that land grants would not be considered prohibitive. The problem of church-state separation is not necessarily raised by supplements to teachers or scholarships for pupils. These are grants for the profit of individuals and do not involve direct interrelating of the functions of church and state.

I am not sure just what is meant by "classroom subsidies," but it

¹²⁰ Ibid.

would seem to be a direct subsidy from government to schools which meet certain standards. That sort of subsidy would involve a compromise of the principle of separation of church and state.

I am not sure what type of grants may be involved in funds originating from the United States Government. In principle we would look to the question whether there is in fact a direct payment of subsidy from a government agency to a church related school.¹²¹

There was a meeting of the special committee to study government subsidies for Baptist schools in Hong Kong, held on July 19, 1962 at Pui Ching Middle School. It was a joint committee, some elected by the Mission and others elected by the Baptist Association, including the principals of the schools run by the Association, the chairpersons of the various educational boards and others engaged in education in the institutions. The focus of the meeting was the problem arising before the Association when the Primary Education Board asked permission to receive a school with sixteen classrooms on the ground floor of a resettlement block to be used by Baptist First Primary School and to be allowed to operate a regular government subsidised primary school. The Primary Education Board had approved the plan but realised that the request raised questions about the principle of governmental funding of all Baptist educational institutions. When the issue was brought to the Association, a special committee was set up to study the matter. The Rev. Ronald Fuller, one of the representatives of the Mission, submitted a report on this special committee meeting to the Mission.¹²²

According to the Rev. Fuller's observation, the local Baptists were in favour of accepting government assistance and subsidies. They considered it to be the only way for the Baptist schools to survive and argued that it was a common practice of other Christian denominations in the territory:

...the Association members were quite in favor of accepting whatever funds and other help the government was prepared to give Baptists in the operation of schools... Many expressed the opinion that Baptist schools, if not subsidized, would be so expensive that ordinary Baptist church members would be forced by economic pressure to send their children to subsidized schools operated by other denominations. The argument was also raised that since the Anglican, Presbyterian, Catholic, Christian Missionary Alliance, Lutheran, and practically all

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ronald W. Fuller, "Report of Special Committee to Study Government Subsidy for Baptist Schools in Hong Kong," in "1962 Miscellaneous Reports, Meetings, etc.," collected in Hong Kong Baptist Mission, The International Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

other major churches were receiving government subsidy, there was really no good argument why Baptists should not follow the leadership of the sister churches.¹²³

In addition to the just mentioned practical concerns, the local Baptists also were convinced that receiving subsidies would not jeopardise the principle of church-state separation:

Most of them were of the opinion that our churches should certainly be separated from government, but education and its financial problems can logically be separated from the church – thus to receive subsidy for schools is not a violation of the church and state principle since the school is not a church.¹²⁴

Contrarily, the missionaries expressed reservations about their local colleagues' perception of the issue. The Rev. Fuller summarised the viewpoints of the missionaries as follows:

Each of our mission representatives also had opportunity to speak his opinion. My feeling was that the missionaries opposed receiving government subsidy on the grounds that it was using Caesar's money to promote [G]od's spiritual kingdom and thus was a violation of New Testament teachings. It was also mentioned that to justify receipt of money because Baptists had already received free land for educational institutions was a mistake because there have been cases such as in Tampa, Florida and Waco, Texas where Baptist institutions refused to accept land from government below the fair market price and insisted on paying respective city governments for the land made available for these Baptist colleges, so that there really was a question whether or not we ought to receive land while the receipt of money forced from people was in the form of taxes by the threat of punishment and jail term, was certainly a violation of the principle of separation of church and state.¹²⁵

Clearly, the missionaries were in agreement with George W. Truett's idea that the church should not acquire any form of government aid for the sake of evangelism or ministry development. They considered that land grants by the Hong Kong government should be deemed to be a form of government subsidies.

The Mission sent a letter to Dr. Winston Crawley, informing him of the recent developments regarding the issue in 1964.¹²⁶ In 1969, a resolution was finally

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ "Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, 18 December 1964," *Minutes of Hong Kong-Macao Baptist Mission of the American Southern Baptist Convention 1964* (Hong Kong, Hong Kong-Macao Mission, SBC, 1965), 62.

passed in the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Mission, restating the policy of the FMB, SBC, on church-state separation:

1. Historically we approve of the principle of separation of Church and State.
2. We recognize the right of National Church Bodies to make their own decision in these matters without regard to the Historical American position.
3. The present policy of the Foreign Mission Board is that direct financial aid will not be provided for any institution; such as hospital, school, etc., when such institution is receiving Government subsidy.
 - a. This will not affect Foreign Mission Board aid to other institutions not receiving Government subsidy.
 - b. This principle does not apply to missionary personnel assisting in the institution.¹²⁷

A letter with the full details of the resolution was sent to Lam Chi-fung, Chairperson of the Baptist Association. The letter was presented as the Mission's official position paper on the issue of governmental subsidy to Baptist schools.¹²⁸

Governmental Aid to the Southern Baptist Institutions in America

As we look at the question of the view of the unusual pattern in church-state relationships among the Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong, we can find a parallel development in the American South.¹²⁹ Thus a review of the church-state relations regarding public funding to Baptist educational institutions in America would provide some insight into the stance of the Baptist Mission in Hong Kong on the similar issue that the local Baptists were facing in the colony.

Beginning in the twentieth century in the United States, the role of the federal government expanded and the educational programs involving federal funds also increased. Thus, the boundaries of church-state separation became vague. During the period of 1930 to 1980, the most important church-state issues in the United States were "the transfer of governmental monies to denominationally affiliated institutions"

¹²⁷ "Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, 19 November 1969," *Minutes of Hong Kong-Macao Baptist Mission of the American Southern Baptist Convention 1969* (Hong Kong, Hong Kong-Macao Mission, SBC, 1970), 46.

¹²⁸ Richard Lusk, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Hong Kong-Macao Mission Office, FMB, SBC, to Dr. Chi-Fung Lam, Chairman of the Baptist Association, 24 November 1969, in the File of the Minutes of Primary School Board, The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, Hong Kong. The Rev. James Hollis said one of the focal institutions of the resolution should be Hong Kong Baptist College, as the Baptist Association was seeking "aid from the Hong Kong government in the form of student scholarships." See James Hollis, to author, 13 December 2002.

¹²⁹ E. Glenn Hinson to author (in English), 18 February 2002.

and “the propriety of funneling relief money through church-affiliated institutions.”¹³⁰ There is a consensus among Christians that the use of public funds by religious institutions has been regarded as the most persistent issue on church-state separation among the Southern Baptists over the years.¹³¹

E. Glenn Hinson, a Southern Baptist church historian and theologian, specifically points out a phenomenon in America that “much of the debate regarding church-state separation has focused on religion and public education”¹³² and “the most disputed question relating to the educational sphere has to do with *state aid to parochial schools*.”¹³³ Hinson’s claim is supported by the verdicts of the well-known court cases that direct aid to parochial schools was adjudged to be a violation of the First Amendment. The *McCullum versus Board of Education* case (1948) and the *Zorach versus Clauson* case (1951) were among the famous cases. According to Hinson, the ruling on the former stated that “the use of public school property for religious education violated the First Amendment”,¹³⁴ and the ruling on the latter held that the “government may not finance religious groups.”¹³⁵ In a document prepared for the Third Baptist Jubilee Celebration in 1964 by the Baptist Jubilee Committee, one of the four questions raised as a “starting point” for discussion in local Baptist churches on the topic of “Separation of Church and State” was: “How much and what kind of State financial aid can be offered to and received by church related schools?”¹³⁶ This is an example that illustrates the intensity of the

¹³⁰ Edward L. Queen II, *In the South the Baptists are the Center of Gravity: Southern Baptists and Social Change, 1930-1980*, preface by Martin E. Marty (Brooklyn, New York: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1991), 100-01.

¹³¹ The work of defending church-state separation has been carried out by the Joint Committee on Public Relations (the name of the committee was changed to the Joint Committee on Public Affairs in 1951), founded in 1946 by the Southern and Northern Baptist conventions and the two largest Black Baptist bodies with the intention of defending the wall of separation without compromise. For details, see John Lee Eighmy, *Churches in Cultural Captivity: A History of the Social Attitudes of Southern Baptists*, with an introduction and epilogue by Samuel S. Hill, Jr. (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1972), 158-78; also see Brent Walker, “Religious Liberty: A Continuing Struggle,” in *Proclaiming the Baptist Vision: Religious Liberty*, ed. Walter B. Shurden (Macon, Georgia: Smyth & Helwys Publishing Inc., 1997), 101-08.

¹³² E. Glenn Hinson, *Religious Liberty: The Christian Roots of Our Fundamental Freedoms*, revised ed. (Louisville, Kentucky: Glad River Publications, 1991), 117.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 118.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 119. For details of the case, see Robert S. Alley, *The Supreme Court on Church and State* (New York, New York and Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1988), 173-83.

¹³⁵ Hinson, *Religious Liberty*, 119. For details of the case, see Alley, *The Supreme Court on Church and State*, 183-94.

¹³⁶ R. F. Aldwinckle, Robert G. Torbet, C. M. Smith and others, “Baptist Distinctives and Diversities and Disagreements and Differences of Emphasis among Baptists,” collected in Walter B. Shurden, *The Baptist Identity: Four Fragile Freedoms* (Macon, Georgia: Smyth & Helwys Publishing,

controversy among Baptists in America.

Baptists opposed the attempts to provide governmental subsidies to parochial schools during the Roosevelt administration. They rejected not only direct transfer of monies, but also indirect transfers, including the provision of transportation and textbooks by the various states, the use of relief workers to improve the buildings and grounds of churches, and the provision for religious worship in towns built and administered by the governmental departments. From the beginning, Baptists have opposed federal aid to denominational schools, both direct aid and hidden aid that would be given through various voucher plans. They consider governmental subsidies to religiously affiliated institutions as the equivalent action of forming an established church. It is because such kind of financial support by public funds could be deemed as an endorsement of valid forms of religious life by the state.¹³⁷ Baptists strongly opposed the Hill-Burton Act in 1949, providing grants of federal monies to private hospitals for use in expansion, research, and construction, as they felt that such funding offered to denominational institutions was “a direct violation of the establishment clause of the First Amendment” and an obvious breach of the Baptist tradition.¹³⁸

Undoubtedly, reaction against the acceptance of public funding among Baptists has arisen robustly and intensively since the 1950s and at least ten state conventions had made thorough investigations of institutional practices by the 1963.¹³⁹ As a matter of fact, Baptist opposition to aid denominational institutions was by no means easy and insignificant from a financial perspective. If Baptists persisted in refusing governmental aid, their institutions, such as colleges and hospitals, simply could not

Inc., 1993), appendix II, 67-68, 76.

According to Shurden, the importance of the statement is twofold: Firstly, “...it represents not one but six different Baptist bodies within the United States.” Secondly, “the document is unique in describing ‘disagreements and differences’ among Baptists, as well as identifying the common convictions of Baptists. This two-fold approach aids in sharpening the commonly accepted Baptist identity and precludes theological emphases that deviate from this broader norm.” (67)

¹³⁷ Queen II, *In the South the Baptists are the Center of Gravity*, 102-04. Queen II calls the indirect federal aid as “hidden aid” that “would be given through the various voucher plans supported by people such as Milton Friedman and William Bennet, secretary of education during the Reagan administration.” (103)

¹³⁸ Ibid., 104; Wayne Flynt, *Alabama Baptists: Southern Baptists in the Heart of Dixie* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama and London, UK: The University of Alabama Press, 1998), 423.

¹³⁹ Eighmy, *Churches in Cultural Captivity*, 166, footnote 22. The examinations were carried on by the conventions in Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Washington, D.C.

survive while competitors accepted government's grants or low-interest loans.¹⁴⁰ However, Baptists were prepared to put their beliefs on the line even at the cost of losing large amounts of money crucial to their survival. The National Defense Education Act of 1958 involved the allocation of federal monies to colleges and universities. The funding included grants to schools and individual students. Baptist educators expressed their opinion in 1959 that "loans to individual students were the only portion of the bill acceptable to them and to their institutions." They boldly rejected the subsidy that would have made their jobs easier.¹⁴¹ The only compromise that Baptists were willing to make on the issue involved three points: firstly, grants and loans to their institutions were offered at commercial interest rates; secondly, government property could be purchased only at a fair market value; and finally, research grants were contracted in return for services rendered.¹⁴²

During the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, Baptists maintained a firm stance on refusing public funding for higher education. In 1963, President Kennedy submitted an education bill to the Congress calling for aid to public primary and secondary schools, as well as private and public institutions of higher education. The Executive Committee of the SBC passed a resolution strongly opposing the clauses of the bill regarding direct aid to "church colleges and universities for the construction of academic facilities" before its submission to the House of Representatives.¹⁴³

As mentioned above, acceptance of government monies was a life-and-death matter for the Baptist higher education business. Thus, during the 1960s, severe debates on the issue broke out in every state convention where denominational colleges and universities were located. John Lee Eighmy suggests that the "denial of federal aid to convention-controlled schools was not decided without a fight, for never in their history have Southern Baptists disagreed so strongly on the meaning of church-state separation."¹⁴⁴ It was actually a fight between Baptist educators and the vast majority of the pastors, editors, and state-convention executives. The main concern of the former was the practical matter of competition. Since their primary

¹⁴⁰ Queen II, *In the South the Baptists are the Center of Gravity*, 104; Eighmy, *Churches in Cultural Captivity*, 167; Flynt, *Alabama Baptists*, 421-22, 486.

¹⁴¹ Queen II, *In the South the Baptists are the Center of Gravity*, 104-05.

¹⁴² Ibid., 104; Eighmy, *Churches in Cultural Captivity*, 166.

¹⁴³ Queen II, *In the South the Baptists are the Center of Gravity*, 105-06. See also *Southern Baptist Convention Annual*, 1963, 253-54.

¹⁴⁴ Eighmy, *Churches in Cultural Captivity*, 167-68.

concern was to find the resources to maintain existing programs, the worry about government's control and the loss of religious freedom was quite remote from the context. On the other hand, the majority of Baptists was loyal to the Baptist principle of church-state separation, no matter what the financial sacrifice would be and how other Christian denominations would gladly accept the funds. Nevertheless, Eighmy suggests that, based on a careful reading of the debate, they were more concerned about the loss of denominational control of the institutions than about government's control.¹⁴⁵

A typical case illustrating the controversial nature of the issue was the debate in the Baptist state convention in North Carolina regarding the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963. The key issue of the debate was the rationale behind running denominational colleges. What was the purpose of the denominational colleges? Were they expected to impart Baptist tradition alongside higher education or purely to provide the public service of education? In other words, was the Baptist higher education business a practice of denominational missions or a public service? The General Board of the North Carolina Convention recommended the proposals of "opening the boards of trustees of the state's Baptist colleges to non-Baptists" and "allowing the schools to accept money for the construction of academic buildings." A justification for a religious institution to accept government's subsidy was that of "fee for services rendered." Thus, the denominational colleges receiving reimbursement for public services rendered seemed to be perfectly acceptable under the Higher Education Facilities Act. However, the rationalisation of the General Board was rejected widely. The most resistance was likely to be derived from the principle of church-state separation that the ideas of using government's funds to support denominational work and of "services rendered" were explicitly turned down.¹⁴⁶

Actually, the rejection of the new law by the state convention of North Carolina was not an isolated case. Other state conventions also took similar actions opposing the acceptance of federal aid, such as Mississippi, Texas, and Alabama. Since it was difficult for school's administrators and trustees to reject such large sums of money when they were facing day-to-day financial challenges, the board of trustees of some

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 168-69; Flynt, *Alabama Baptist*, 487.

¹⁴⁶ Queen II, *In the South the Baptists are the Center of Gravity*, 106-07.

Baptist colleges decided to be independent from the state conventions so that they were allowed to accept the subsidy. For instance, Mercer University in Georgia was removed from denominational control after a long debate in the Georgia State Convention.¹⁴⁷

Implications of the Controversies over Governmental Aid

In scrutinising the controversies about public funding for Baptist educational institutions in the United States and Hong Kong, we see the debates occurred in similar manner almost simultaneously miles apart across Pacific Ocean. There seemed to be a parallel development in the post-World War II period, as pointed out by E. Glenn Hinson. Certain similarities and implications can be discerned from the comparison.

First, the controversies taking place in both Baptist communities were a choice between survival of the denominational institutions and the maintenance of certain principles. The Baptist educational institutions in the United States and Hong Kong were facing tremendous financial pressures, which were a matter of life-and-death for the schools. Unquestionably, governmental aid was an irresistible temptation. However, the compositions of the pros and cons of the two communities were different. In Hong Kong, the debates were between the laity (the pros) and pastors (the cons) among Baptists. In the United States, the pros side was formed mainly by the Baptist educators and the cons side consisted of pastors, editors of conventional journals and magazines, and state convention executives.¹⁴⁸ One interesting difference was that the Baptist congregations in Hong Kong were basically ignorant of the issue, while the Southern Baptist congregations in the United States were surprisingly united in support of the cons against the acceptance of federal aid.¹⁴⁹

Second, religious liberty and church-state separation are indisputably the core axioms of Baptists. It is no surprise to see that the Southern Baptists have maintained an unceasing interest in the issues throughout the world, both in the denomination and through their participation in the Baptist World Alliance.¹⁵⁰ A

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 108.

¹⁴⁸ Eighmy, *Churches in Cultural Captivity*, 165-70.

¹⁴⁹ Queen II, *In the South the Baptists are the Center of Gravity*, 97-118; Flynt, *Alabama Baptist*, 421.

¹⁵⁰ Queen II, *In the South the Baptists are the Center of Gravity*, 101. The Baptist World Alliance (BWA) is the official global fellowship of Baptists uniting 211 Baptist conventions/unions,

joint statement on religious liberty, "American Baptist Bill of Rights," was approved by the Southern Baptist Convention, the Northern Baptist Convention, and the National Baptist Convention, the three founding conventions of the Joint Conference Committee on Public Affairs, in 1939. The closing statement of the document is that:

Believing religious liberty to be not only *an inalienable human right*, but *indispensable to human welfare*, a Baptist must exercise himself in the maintenance of absolute religious liberty for his Jewish neighbor, his Catholic neighbor, his Protestant neighbor, and *for everybody* else. Profoundly convinced that any deprivation of this right is wrong to be challenged, Baptists condemn every form of compulsion in religion or restraint of the free consideration of the claims of religion. We stand for civil state, "with full liberty in religious concerns" (emphasis mine).¹⁵¹

Since church-state separation is the corollary of religious liberty, both are regarded as inalienable human rights, indispensable to human welfare; namely, they are the universal values for humankind and the axioms for Baptists throughout the world. Simply speaking, human rights should have no contextual considerations. As Walter B. Shurden argues, religious liberty is "not simply self-serving expediency" it is a "principle" and "a principle applied to all people."¹⁵² Thus, the Southern Baptist missionaries should have applied for and to impart the same principles to Baptists in Hong Kong, with no geographical and racial concerns. If acceptance of public monies for education is not allowed by Baptists in the United States, it should not be allowed in Hong Kong as well. In other words, the Southern Baptists missionaries in Hong Kong should have opposed the idea of accepting governmental aid for Baptist education institutions in Hong Kong if they faithfully practised the principles of religious liberty and church-state separation and fulfilled their role as teachers of the local Baptists.

In order to evaluate the responsibility of the Southern Baptist missionaries for

started in London, England, in 1905 at the first Baptist World Congress. The purpose of BWA is "to empower and enable national Baptist leaders to effectively witness and minister in the name of Jesus Christ and to represent and support Baptists throughout the world in defense of human rights and religious freedom." The goals of BWA are to unite Baptists worldwide, to respond to people in need, and to defend human rights. For details, see "About Us," in Baptist World Alliance; English, available from <http://www.bwanet.org/AboutUs/index.html>; Internet; accessed 11 April 2005.

¹⁵¹ Stan L. Haste, "The History and Contributions of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs," *Baptist History and Heritage*, 20 (July 1985), 36; cited in Queen II, *In the South the Baptists are the Center of Gravity*, 102.

¹⁵² Walter B. Shurden, *The Baptist Identity: Four Fragile Freedoms* (Macon, Georgia: Smyth & Helwys Publishing, Inc., 1993), 53.

shaping the practice of church-state separation among Hong Kong Baptists, we need to reconstruct a chronology of the interaction between the frontline Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong and administrative personnel of the FMB of the SBC on this issue.

In retrospect, Crawley's position in his letter dated June 28, 1962, probably was treated as a normative interpretation of the issues of governmental subsidy for the Baptist Mission. Nonetheless, his statement was somewhat unclear, as he only responded to the issue by laying out certain principles. Crawley plainly admitted that he was "not sure just what is meant by 'classroom subsidies'" and "not sure what type of grants may be involved in funds originating from the United States Government." Thus, the issue of land grant was not addressed in the statement, and there was no clear definition of a government subsidy, though Crawley acknowledged that this "sort of subsidy would involve a compromise of the principle of separation of church and state." Understandably, Crawley's opinions on the issue would have had an intense influence on Hong Kong Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong. This strongly affected the Mission's position. His statement that land grant was an acceptable action taken by the Baptist institutions in Hong Kong might have had the long term effect of guaranteeing that all the Baptist institutions, such as Baptist College, Baptist Hospital, and the Baptist schools, would continue to be eligible to receive financial aid from the FMB. Regrettably, Crawley never elaborated on his argument.

Some forty years later, Crawley tried to explain in general terms of the principles behind in his correspondence. Firstly, a grant of land in Hong Kong "would likely cause no problem," as land was basically controlled by the government. Secondly, government's loans "would be no problem, but an interest-free loan would be a borderline issue." Thirdly, Other Baptist conventions around the world "did not share the strict Southern Baptist convictions about separation of church and state. (The position had its roots in Baptist history in America.)" For instance, British Baptists had a long tradition of receiving government monies for their schools in British and colonial areas. Thus, Baptist institutions owned and operated by other Baptist conventions "would not be bound by Southern Baptist views or FMB policies." Finally, the issue of accepting government funding for ongoing operating expenses for Baptist schools would be for Hong Kong Baptists to decide.¹⁵³ On the

¹⁵³ Winston Crawley to author (in English), 12 December 2002.

whole, Crawley's argument is a restatement of his letter of 1962.

One month later, the Rev. Ronald Fuller's report on a meeting of the special committee to study government subsidy for Baptist schools in Hong Kong in July 1962 clearly indicated that the Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong opposed receiving government subsidy. They realised that there was a similar controversy among Baptists in the United States. He also pointed out that the local Baptists were eager for the government aid.¹⁵⁴ Intriguingly, the tone of Crawley's letter and Fuller's report sounded different. Nevertheless, the Mission's stance on land grants and government subsidies was formalised in 1969. The Mission, in its official statement, reiterated the practice of the principle of church-state separation as usual, but also specified that it was the right of local church bodies "to make their decision in these matters without regard to the [h]istorical American position."¹⁵⁵ Apparently, this statement was in congruent with Crawley's standpoint that "would have represented essentially the Board's policy."¹⁵⁶

Therefore, the following observations can be drawn:

Firstly, the Mission's official stance evidently appeared to be contradictory to the perception of the Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong and to the notion of religious liberty being "an inalienable human right" and "indispensable to human welfare" for everyone. If religious liberty is human right and is for everybody, why did the Mission not insist on the practice of church-state separation in Hong Kong? Crawley does not provide any explanation.

Secondly, Crawley's rationale could be seen as valid if the land in Hong Kong were only available to the public as a grant and could not be purchased.¹⁵⁷ Under such circumstances, a land grant might be the only available means of acquiring land for church ministry. However, as previously discussed, the three largest Baptist churches in Hong Kong did purchase land for their church development. In other

¹⁵⁴ James Hollis also mentioned in his email that the Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong well acknowledged the controversy about government monies to the Baptist colleges in the United States in the 1960s. James Hollis to author (in English), 13 December 2002; Richard Lusk to author (in English), 17 December 2002.

¹⁵⁵ Crawley's letter to the Mission dated June 28, 1962 and Fuller's report are the only documents on the issue of governmental subsidy collected in the files of the office of Hong Kong-Macao Baptist Mission in Hong Kong.

¹⁵⁶ Winston Crawley to author (in English), 12 December 2002.

¹⁵⁷ It is also an argument of George Wilson, former President of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary. George Wilson, interview by author, tape recording, Oklahoma, USA, 29 April 2002 (in English).

words, if churches could purchase the needed land for their ministries from the government or private owners, it means that the land in Hong Kong is accessible to the public. It is a matter of cost, not availability. Then, why did Crawley and the Mission accept the idea of land grant?

Thirdly, the official stance of the Mission on land grants might be a reflection of a discrepancy of understanding of the issue between the frontline personnel and administrative personnel of the FMB of the SBC. Was it caused by their miscommunication or misunderstanding?

In short, at least three points can be drawn from reviewing the chronicles of the activities related to governmental subsidy of the Baptist Association and the Mission. First, there is clear evidence of an unceasing effort on the part of the two educational boards to affect Baptist subsidised schools. The two education boards were composed mainly of laity.¹⁵⁸ This could provide a clue that Baptist lay leaders had been caught up with the notion of governmental subsidy in the 1950s. Secondly, the ambiguous statement by which the Primary School Board rejected the government's proposal of a subsidised primary school in 1955 is a significant case. In this case, there appears to have been intriguing and meaningful interaction behind the scenes of formal meeting between the local Baptists and the Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong.¹⁵⁹ Finally, the statement of the Hong Kong-Macao Baptist Mission on the state-church separation seemed to be a positive signal to the laity that the Mission would keep its hands off the debate and controversy.

Solution of the Dilemma

If there is a confrontation between the laity and pastors that needs to be settled by a vote, the former would likely win. This is the phenomena of Baptist democratic polity. Hong Kong is no exception. As mentioned previously, according to the Baptist polity in Hong Kong, the General Meetings and the Executive Board are two decision-making bodies. Most of the representatives to the General Meeting and

¹⁵⁸ Excluding a series of meetings of acquiring land, interest-free loans, and subsidy of construction expenses from the government for Pui Ching Middle School and Pooi To Girls' Middle School since September 9, 1963 as they were not discussing the issue of subsidised school, the total number of attendance of the abovementioned meetings were 69, with 59 lay people and 10 pastors or missionaries or seminary graduates, i.e. more than 85 percent were the laity.

¹⁵⁹ The viewpoints of the church-state relationship of the Hong Kong-Macao Baptist Mission might be a possible factor that led the Primary School Board to decline the government offer. However, further study is needed.

most of the members of the Executive Board were laity. Since pastors and missionaries were in the minority and the laity made up the majority in both bodies, it was inevitable that the motion to accept the governmental subsidy proposed by the Primary School Board would pass since the laity was almost unanimous in their approval.

The church-state controversy along with the related conflict between the laity and pastors was officially settled in the Executive Board Meeting on June 8, 1971.¹⁶⁰ Attendance of the meeting was 82 with 26 auditors. Among the 82 attendees, there were 62 laity and 20 non-laity, including pastors or missionaries or seminary graduates, i.e. more than 75 percent were the laity.¹⁶¹ This meeting is regarded as the most confrontational occasion in the history of the Baptist Association.¹⁶² The motion was adopted with three main points: Firstly, the Baptist Association would take over the new school from the government initially. Secondly, a new organisation would be founded, constituted of certain existing members of the Standing Committee,¹⁶³ the Secondary School Board, and the Primary School Board. Thirdly, those elected members would be responsible for the draft of the Constitution

¹⁶⁰ "Yi Jiu Qi Yi Nian Du Lishihui Di Er Ci Huiyi Jilu," ["Minutes of the Executive Board Meeting"] 8 June 1971, The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association (in Chinese) (Hong Kong): 108-14.

There is a very serious error in the date of the resolution regarding the establishment of the new Baptist education organisation. The date of the resolution mentioned in all reviewed documents, including internal documents, news reports and articles published in The Baptist Association Monthly, except the "Minutes of the Executive Board Meeting on 8 June 1971," was in July 1971. They are: Yue Kai-shui, "*Peiai Xuixiao De Dansheng Ji Xiaowu Baogao*," ["The Birth of Pui Oi Primary School and the Business Report"] The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association Annual 1971 (in Chinese) (Hong Kong), 1972, 54; Daniel Chi-wai Tse, "*Zhuxi Baogao: Xianggang Jinxin Jiaoyu Xiehui*," ["Chairperson's Report – The Hong Kong Baptist Education Association"] (in Chinese) date unknown (probably 1973), in the File of The Hong Kong Baptist Education Association, The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, Hong Kong; "*Xianggang Jinxin Jiaoyu Xiehui Qu Nien Shi Yue Yi Xiang Zhengfu Zheng Shi Zhuce*," ["The Hong Kong Baptist Education Association Registered with the Government in Last October"] *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Yue Kan* [The Baptist Association Monthly] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 28, 3 (1973): 2; Daniel Chi-wai Tse, "*Zhi Ge Chengyan Hanjian*," ["Chairperson of The Hong Kong Baptist Education Association, to the Members of The Hong Kong Baptist Education Association (1972)"], dated 17 October 1994, (in Chinese) in the File of The Hong Kong Baptist Education Association, The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.

¹⁶¹ "Yi Jiu Qi Yi Nian Du Lishihui Di Er Ci Huiyi Jilu," ["Minutes of the Executive Board Meeting"] 8 June 1971, 108-10.

¹⁶² The Rev. Paul Wong said that there were heated discussions and arguments in the Executive Board Meeting. See Paul Yat-keung Wong to author, 14 March 2002, 1. The Rev. Lau Fuk-chuen admits that the discussion in the Executive Board Meeting was the fieriest one that he has ever seen in his some 30 years service in the Baptist community in Hong Kong. See Lau Fuk-chuen, interview by author, tape recording, 31 December 2002; Calvin C. Y. Chan, interview by author, tape recording, 21 December 2002.

¹⁶³ The function of the Standing Committee is similar to a cabinet. It is responsible for drafting the agenda of the Executive Board Meetings. The members include: the Chairperson, the vice Chairperson, the Secretary, the Treasurer.

and for the registration procedures. Afterwards, the newly incorporated body would take over the management of the new school from the Baptist Association.¹⁶⁴

Rationale – A Compromise

Judging from the overall situation, the cons-faction must have realised that it was unlikely to stop the adoption of the motion, as pastors held the minority in both the General Meeting and the Executive Meeting.¹⁶⁵ In order to minimise the impact on the principle of church-state separation and to solve the confrontation between the laity and pastors, the Rev. Paul Y. K. Wong, as the Chairperson of the Baptist Association, then proposed an alternative, which he regarded as a middle-of-the-road position¹⁶⁶ or a compromise,¹⁶⁷ in the meetings of the Primary School Board.¹⁶⁸ The alternative was that a new organisation would be founded for the administration of the new subsidised Baptist school. This would allow future subsidised school to be run by the new organisation, not directly by the Baptist Association. After a series of consultations, the idea was accepted by the lay-leaders and listed in the Statement of Proposition prepared by the Primary School Board and in the related motion.

After the issue had been settled for a month, the Rev. Wong was interviewed by *Jin Lian Yue Kan* regarding the rationale of founding a new education organization. The article was published in July 1971. The Rev. Wong's statement can be considered as an official statement explaining the rationale of the new policy. He addressed two main issues – the principle of church-state separation and the formation and operations of the new education organisation.

Concerning the principle of church-state separation, the Rev. Wong was asked, "Why does the Baptist Association run a subsidised school while Baptists insist on church-state separation?" and "Why doesn't the Baptist Association or a Baptist church directly run a subsidised school instead of using such a circuitous approach?"¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ "Yi Jiu Qi Yi Nian Du Lishihui Di Er Ci Huiyi Jilu," ["Minutes of the Executive Board Meeting"] 8 June 1971, 113.

¹⁶⁵ Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 8 April 2002, 1.

¹⁶⁶ Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 14 March 2002, 1; Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 8 April 2002, 1.

¹⁶⁷ Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 8 April 2002, 2.

¹⁶⁸ Wong Yat-keung Paul to author, 5 March 2003 (in Chinese).

¹⁶⁹ Editorial Staff, "Wei 'Diyijia Xuesiao': Fangwen Xiangang Jinxinhui Lianhui Zhuxi Huang Ri

In response to the inquiry, the Rev. Wong solemnly asserted that “I personally think that ‘it is a violation of the principle of church-state separation’ if a local church or a Baptist Association directly accept the governmental subsidy to run a school. However, if the subsidised school is run by a consociate of individual Christians or an independent organisation sponsored by church, there should be no conflict with the Baptist faith.”¹⁷⁰ He elaborates that “the undertaking of the new school is neither in the name of the Baptist Association nor any a Baptist church, but it is run by a newly established independent organisation.”¹⁷¹

Regarding the formation and operations of the new education organisation, the Rev. Wong explains that “the new education organisation is formed by the members of three Boards of the Baptist Association and the Christians who are invited by the above Boards’ members. The new subsidised school will be run by this incorporated entity which will be registered with the government.”¹⁷² “The stance of the Baptist Association is to give the incorporation moral support in its initial stage of establishment, such as personnel support. This is why the members of the Standing Committee, of the Secondary Education Department, and of the Primary Education Department are allowed to join it. They act in their capacity as individual Christians in the new organisation and there is nothing related to the Baptist Association...and their service is voluntary. If they are unwilling to join the organisation, their posts in the Baptist Association will not be affected.”¹⁷³ With regard to the financial status, “it is completely independent from the Baptist Association. Nevertheless, the new organisation would ask the education departments of the Baptist Association for the loan in the initial stage.”¹⁷⁴

The Rev. Wong further elucidates the dilemma that the Baptist Association is facing: “In contemporary society, education is dominated by the public school system and it is unlikely [for non-government organisations] to run good private schools. Thus, there is a strident voice of church members that they want to run subsidised schools. For the time being, a compromise is: [We] do not try to passively suppress

Qiang Mushi,” [“Interview the Rev. Wong Yat-keung Paul, Chairperson of The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association, for the ‘First Subsidised School’,”] 2.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

the idea of running subsidised schools, but actively find a way out.”¹⁷⁵ In the Annual Report of the Chairperson of the Baptist Association in 1971, the Rev. Wong reiterates the similar arguments for his approach, as mentioned in the interview.¹⁷⁶

Solution or Loophole

Evidently, the most crucial factor in the Rev. Wong’s approach was the idea of founding a new independent organisation to run the new Baptist subsidised school. He seems to think that it was the only way to shun or wriggle out of the conflict of church-state separation. The question remains, however, was the HKBEA a genuinely independent organization, in terms of membership?

According to the *Memorandum and Articles of Association of The Hong Kong Baptist Education Association (1972) Limited*, there are three kinds of members: Ordinary Member, Life Member, and Associate Member.¹⁷⁷ An Ordinary Member is only for “[a]ny person who holds the current office o[n] any [of the] following board or department in the Baptist Churches Association at or after the time of the formal registration of the Association...provided his [her] annual subscription is paid,”¹⁷⁸ and the particular boards or departments are: The Standing Committee, The Secondary Education Department, and The Primary Education Department.¹⁷⁹ Any Christian can be invited by the General Meeting of the Association to be a Life Member or an Associate Member. However, “the number of the Associate Members each year must not be in excess of one fourth of the total number of the present Members.”¹⁸⁰

There was only one qualification for being an Ordinary Member of the HKBEA, that was his/her office of the above board or department; namely, the eligibility was due to one’s capacity as a member of the board or department in the Baptist Association. Since the membership was not open to the public but was almost always restricted to the related personnel, with only a maximum of one fourth of

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Wong Yat-keung Paul, “*Geng Gao, Geng Yuan, Geng Kuai*,”[“Higher, Farther, Faster”] *The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association Annual 1971* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong), 1972, 12-13.

¹⁷⁷ *Memorandum and Articles of Association of The Hong Kong Baptist Education Association (1972) Limited*, 12.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. Previously, The Secondary Education Department was known as The Middle Schools Board, and The Primary Education Department was named The Primary School Board.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

non-members or outsiders, the background of the members of the HKBEA would be inevitably homogeneous. Apparently, the Baptist Association would be completely in control of the HKBEA through the above personnel, who could be perceived of as the *de facto* agents of the Baptist Association. To a significant extent, this mechanism served to safeguard the interests and to implement the policies of the Baptist Association.

Judging from its criteria for membership, as well as its financial dependence on the Baptist Association, it is reasonable to infer that the HKBEA was nominally an independent incorporation, but was actually a dependent/parasitic organisation, essentially affiliated with the Baptist Association. Therefore, the proposal for the establishment of the HKBEA as a solution to the church-state controversy seemed to be problematic, since it can be deemed a loophole.

Significance and Impact of the HKBEA

The First Corporate Action Signifying the Church-State Practice

Undoubtedly, Baptists in Hong Kong recognized the principle of church-state separation to be one of the most essential axioms of Baptists. However, the principle merely seemed an abstract concept to most Hong Kong Baptists until the issue of government subsidised schools was on the agenda, suddenly making the abstract concept a tangible and practical topic. In fact, the school subsidy issue is arguably Hong Kong Baptists' first borderline case on a public issue to trigger a church-state debate. Thus, the resolution to accept the government's offer of a subsidised school can be regarded as Baptists' first corporate action defining the church-state relationship of Baptists in the colony. In this case, it was decided that governmental subsidy to the Baptist schools and taking over subsidised schools from the government were justified as legitimate actions, not seem to be a breach of church-state separation. Following this decision, the Baptist educational ministry began to flourish as the number of the Baptist subsidised schools increased.

Increase of Number of Baptist Subsidised Schools since the 1970s As one of its primary objects was to "establish and maintain non-profit making schools, subsidised or non-subsidised,"¹⁸¹ the Chairperson of the HKBEA maintained contact

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 5.

with the government in order to apply for more subsidised secondary schools.¹⁸² In 1975, Pui Ching Middle School and Pooi To Girls' Middle School accepted the government's proposal to become subsidised in three stages, to be fully completed in 1978.¹⁸³ In 1978, The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong (hereafter referred to as the Baptist Convention) was authorized to run its first subsidised secondary school, Baptist Lui Ming Choi Secondary School, located at Sha Tin, the New Territories.¹⁸⁴ It is under the management of the Secondary Education Board, earlier known as the Middle Schools Board of the Baptist Convention. A number of new Baptist subsidised schools were built in the following decades. The role and influence of the HKBEA cannot be overlooked as a major contributor to the success of subsidization.

Conclusion Obviously, there was a wide gap between the perceptions of the laity and pastors concerning the principle of separation of church and state. The former group saw it from the practical perspective that government subsidised school premises could be used as a stronghold for evangelism in the district. Their eyes were dazzled by the blossoming of Christian schools operated by other Protestant denominations and the Roman Catholics in the colony. The latter group considered the issue from a theological-ecclesiological perspective with the conclusion that accepting government subsidies for running schools by any Baptist church or association would be regarded as a breach of church-state separation.

The outcry to run government subsidised schools began to be heard among the laity in the 1950s. The democratic nature of Baptist polity gives the laity the advantage of a majority over pastors in meetings. The laity gained ascendancy after the Hong Kong-Macao Mission declared its neutral position on the school subsidy controversy. Considering the practical needs of Hong Kong's society at the time, the government's promise of no interference in religious activities and school management, and the laity majority on the Executive Board Meeting of the Baptist Association, a local pastor designed a circuitous approach leading to the establishment of an independent incorporation for the management of the Baptist subsidised schools.

¹⁸² "Di Er Jie Zhounian Dahui Huiyi Jilu," ["Minutes of 2nd Annual Meeting,"] 29 March 1974, The Hong Kong Baptist Education Association, (in Chinese) in the File of The Hong Kong Baptist Education Association, The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.

¹⁸³ Kwong, "A Historical Sketch of Pooi To Middle School 1888-1978," 2; "Xianggang Peizheng," ["Hong Kong Pui Ching,"] *Peizheng Zhongxue Bai Zhou Nian Jinian Te Kan 1898-1989*, [Special Memorial Issue for the Centenary Anniversary of Pui Ching Middle School 1889-1989,] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong), 1989, 57.

¹⁸⁴ "Brief Introduction to the School," Baptist Lui Ming Choi Secondary School, available from <http://www.blmcss.edu.hk/homepage/> (in Chinese); Internet; accessed 18 February 2003.

Presumably, this approach would solve the dilemma. The HKBEA was incorporated in 1972 to manage Baptist subsidized schools. Nominally the incorporation appeared to be an independent entity, but in fact the Baptist Association controlled the HKBEA through the process of nominating its Ordinary Members. Thus, the establishment of the HKBEA can hardly be considered a solution to the conflict, but merely a clever plan or strategy to seem to conform to the Baptist principle of separation of church and state.

After a twenty-year struggle, the establishment of the HKBEA was a touchdown for Baptists laity on the issue of acquiring governmental subsidy for their education ministry. The impact of founding the HKBEA in the context of Hong Kong was at least twofold: Firstly, it served as a test case to justify the practice of receiving governmental subsidy and taking over subsidised schools from the government. These were treated as justifiable actions, no longer deemed a breach of church-state separation. Secondly, three more Baptist subsidised schools were incorporated or founded in the 1970s, and a number of new Baptist subsidised schools were built in the decades to follow.

After accomplishing its historic mission, the HKBEA was dissolved in 1994, as all the new Baptist subsidised schools were directly organised by the Primary and Secondary Boards of the Baptist Convention, since the practice of capitalising on government subsidy for Christian education has been well accepted by the Baptist community in the colony. Thus, it is no exaggeration to conclude that the HKBEA was a significant move in Baptists' formalisation of their church-state practice in Hong Kong.

Explanations of the Phenomena

In order to grasp the quintessence of the relationship between Lam Chi-fung and Sir Alexander Grantham and the conflict between the Baptist laity and pastors, it is necessary to have a bird's eye view of the socio-political-ecclesiological contexts of Hong Kong in the post-World War II period.

The year 1949 was a milestone in Chinese and Hong Kong history. In that year on October, the civil war in China was over, and the People's Republic of China (PRC), a Communist regime, replaced the Republic of China (ROC), a pro-American regime. The British government acknowledged the Central People's Government as

the *de jure* Government of China on January 6, 1950.¹⁸⁵ Politically, the establishment of the PRC and Cold War were the most important issues in international relations in the post-World War II period in Asia.¹⁸⁶ Sir Alexander Grantham (1947-57) was the second governor of Hong Kong after World War II. His predecessor, Sir Mark Aitchison Young (1941-46), had exercised the governorship only for one year after being released from the Japanese concentration camp in 1946. Grantham can be regarded as the colony's prime political engineer during the post-World War II period. In fact, he governed Hong Kong for ten and a half years,¹⁸⁷ the longest term of a governor in the colony up to that point. Grantham's opinion about the colony provides noteworthy remarks on the social and political contexts of Hong Kong during a crucial period in Baptists' developments of social services, especially in the area of education. Two pieces of Grantham's work are useful in providing a basic understanding of the situation in Hong Kong in the post-war period: Firstly, there is Grantham's lecture reflecting his fresh memories of the colony a year after his retirement. The lecture was presented at the Royal Central Asian Society on November 19, 1958, on the topic of Hong Kong, a year after retiring from the position of governor of Hong Kong, thus reflects his fresh memory of the colony. Secondly, his autobiography, *Via Ports: From Hong Kong to Hong Kong*, published in 1965, represents his more systematic thoughts on the colony during his term of office.

Hong Kong under Sir Alexander Grantham's Governorship

Grantham at the personal level appeared not to be a Communist sympathiser. He describes that Communist China "was violently anti-Western, anti-British, and anti-Hong Kong"; and added that the general public of Hong Kong realized that "the government across the border was unfriendly and strong."¹⁸⁸ The establishment of the Communist regime in Beijing led "to greatly increase political activity by anti-British and subversive elements of the Colony's population."¹⁸⁹ Hong Kong was depicted as "a symbol of the free world not only of the British world but of the free

¹⁸⁵ Alexander Grantham, "Hong Kong," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 46 (1959): 121.

¹⁸⁶ For the impact of the Cold War on Asia's politics, see C. M. Turnbull, "Regionalism and Nationalism," in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia – Vol. 2: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Nicholas Tarling (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 596-603.

¹⁸⁷ Grantham, "Hong Kong," 119.

¹⁸⁸ Alexander Grantham, *Via Ports: From Hong Kong to Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1965), 139.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 147.

world in the Far East.” He suggested that Hong Kong was “really the Berlin of the East.”¹⁹⁰ It is not surprising that he considered one of his ultimate responsibilities to prevent the spread of Communism from the north. It was an open secret that Hong Kong was a base for covert operations against China by Taiwan agents, the Soviet Union, and Western countries.¹⁹¹ Facing the tremendous tensions between the Free World and the Iron Curtain countries and the incessant Chinese civil war between the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party) and the Communist Party in the 1950s, Grantham exhibited a unique understanding of Chinese culture in his administration of Hong Kong and exhibited his unique understanding of Chinese culture and pragmatic political insight.

During the period from 1945 to 1952, five sets of proposals to reform the Hong Kong constitution were examined, four of which were rejected by the British government. The fifth proposal, which was accepted by Downing Street and implemented in 1952, only dealt with the Urban Council.¹⁹² Grantham’s leading role and commitment to this final proposal were regarded as the crucial factor in its acceptance.¹⁹³ Simply speaking, the main emphasis of the first and second plans, initiated by G. E. J. Gent of the Colonial Office in 1945 and by Sir Mark Young in 1947, was to introduce municipal self-government before 1949. In his speech on the resumption of governorship of Hong Kong on May 1, 1946, Young announced that political reform would take place with the objective of helping Hong Kong people become more involved in and responsible for the colony’s administration.¹⁹⁴ His plan

¹⁹⁰ Grantham, “Hong Kong,” 126.

¹⁹¹ Norman Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, 3rd updated and revised edition (Hong Kong/London/New York/Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1982), 21.

¹⁹² The Urban Council was the only government body which both included elected members and exercises executive powers in directing the work of a government department since its establishment in 1887, originally named the Sanitary Board, and its primary responsibilities were to organise the scavenging of the streets and houses and to draft new public health regulations. It was renamed the Sanitary Department in 1908 and renamed again the Urban Council in 1936. Its supervision was extended to cover a wider range of public health and other miscellaneous matters. For detailed discussion of the Urban Council, see Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, 3rd updated and rev. ed., 219-33.

¹⁹³ Steve Yui-sang Tsang, *Democracy Shelved: Great Britain, China, and Attempts at Constitutional Reform in Hong Kong, 1945-1952* (Hong Kong/Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 183. For the comparison of the various reform proposals, see Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, 183-210; Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, 3rd updated and rev. ed., 237-48.

¹⁹⁴ *South China Morning Post*, 2 May 1946; Zheng Chi-yan, “Zhan Hou Xianggang Zheng Zhi Fa Zhan,” [“Hong Kong Political Development in Post-World War II,”] in *Hong Kong History: New Perspectives, Vol. I*, ed. Wang Gun-wu (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, Hong Kong, Co. Ltd., 1997), 132.

is referred to in Hong Kong history as the Young Plan.¹⁹⁵ Young believed that the only way to keep the colony British was to make inhabitants citizens of (not merely Chinese sojourners in) British Hong Kong through popular political participation.¹⁹⁶ His idea was to lead Hong Kong to achieve a representative or responsible government within the Empire so that it would not seek independence.¹⁹⁷

Unlike his predecessor, Grantham strongly maintained that it was impossible for Hong Kong to become independent, and insisted that the most appropriate form of government in the colony was a “benevolent autocracy.”¹⁹⁸ However, decolonisation was an unstoppable trend after World War II throughout the world, as all the Western imperial powers were facing waves of nationalism and demands for self-determination. In fact, political reform had been on the agenda of the colonial governments since 1946.¹⁹⁹

After World War II, Great Britain adopted a policy of preparing her colonial territories for self-government and offered membership in the Commonwealth. It was understood that territories would be granted independence when the inhabitants were ready for it.²⁰⁰ Grantham’s policy of “benevolent autocracy” seemed to be incongruous with Britain’s post-war trend. He explained the rationale behind his view that Hong Kong could not become an independent state: Firstly, he claimed that the Chinese are “political apathetic” and insisted they would be content to devote their time to making money, provided that the government maintains law and order so that they could obtain justice in the courts. Secondly, he thought the people in Hong Kong would be afraid of “a popularly elected Legislation” because they feared China would gain political control through such a Legislature. Thirdly, he believed the majority of Chinese in Hong Kong “had little loyalty to Hong Kong.” According to his analogy, Hong Kong was a railway station and its inhabitants, the passengers passing in and out of its gates.²⁰¹ The assumption was that there was a strong cultural affinity between

¹⁹⁵ G. B. Endacott, *Government and People in Hong Kong, 1842 - 1962: A Constitutional History* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1964), 195; Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, 3rd updated and rev. ed., 237-38.

¹⁹⁶ Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, 183-87.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 232, footnote 2.

¹⁹⁸ Grantham, “Hong Kong,” 121; Grantham, *Via Ports*, 111.

¹⁹⁹ Zheng, “Zhan Hou Xianggang Zheng Zhi Fa Zhan,” [“Hong Kong Political Development in Post-World War II,”] 131. For detailed study on the topic of decolonisation, see Henri Grimal, *Decolonisation: The British, Dutch, and Belgian Empires, 1919-1963*, trans. Stephan De Vos (London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978); Turnbull, “Regionalism and Nationalism,” 588-91.

²⁰⁰ Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, 3rd updated and rev. ed., 3.

²⁰¹ Grantham, “Hong Kong,” 121; Grantham, *Via Ports*, 111-12.

Chinese living in the adjacent Chinese province of Guangdong and local Chinese inhabitants, preventing them from developing “local loyalty” to the colony.²⁰² In Grantham’s view, Hong Kong’s affairs were complicated and should be placed under the Foreign Office, rather than the Colonial Office. He justified his argument by the fact that in 1947 a member of the Foreign Service had arrived to join the governor’s staff as a political advisor a few weeks before his own arrival.²⁰³

In the pre-Communist days, relations between Hong Kong and China were generally friendly. The colony even treated the ROC’s national day as a public holiday.²⁰⁴ Since there was no barrier at the frontier, people were free to come and go as they pleased. Each day 10,000 people would enter Hong Kong while the same number would depart. Some of the same people who entered were among those leaving. When the Communists arrived at the border, the linkage between two places was terminated. No trains ran between Kowloon and Guangzhou. It was the large influx of refugees and not politics that forced the colonial government in May 1950 to impose restrictions on the number entering Hong Kong.²⁰⁵ The border’s closing caused Hong Kong and China to become two separate worlds. This event would have a tremendous impact upon Hong Kong people’s attitude and upon the future development of Hong Kong society.²⁰⁶ The problem of refugees soon became Grantham’s highest priority.²⁰⁷

Since the Treaty of Nanjing, Hong Kong was a metropolitan area on the edge of China, beyond the jurisdiction of the Chinese Government.²⁰⁸ This unique position from the Qing Dynasty until the handover made Hong Kong a haven for Chinese wishing to escape from Chinese law or from social, political, or economic turmoil. Not surprisingly, Hong Kong became the base of Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s revolutionary activities. Hong Kong’s singular position affected the quality and the quantity of her Chinese population. The demographic trends of Hong Kong served as a tide-table or

²⁰² CO 537/5400, minute of ninth STC meeting, 12 July 1950 (item 4); cited in Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, 188; also see Grantham, “Hong Kong,” 121.

²⁰³ Grantham, *Via Ports*, 105.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 138.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 149, 155; *idem*, “Hong Kong,” 120, 123.

²⁰⁶ Sin Yuk-ye, “*Shehui Zuzhi Yu Shehui Zhuanbian*,” [“Social Organisation and Social Changes,”] in *Hong Kong History: New Perspectives, Vol. 1*, ed. Wang Gun-wu (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, Hong Kong, Co. Ltd., 1997), 196.

²⁰⁷ In *Via Ports*, “refugees” is the first social issue discussed independently in Chapter 7: Communist China. It reflects the importance of the issue in the author’s mind.

²⁰⁸ Under the policy of “one country two systems,” Hong Kong, to a certain extent, should be still considered as a city beyond the jurisdiction of the PRC Government.

a thermometer for measuring the prevailing conditions of China from 1842-1997, since Hong Kong was always directly affected by the political changes in the Mainland. This is particularly true in the population changes in Hong Kong.

There was an increase from about 23,000 in 1845 to 850,000 in 1931. In 1941, four years after the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the population in Hong Kong had increased to 1,640,000. Then, during the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong from 1942-1945, a million people fled the colony to the mainland and the population dropped to about 600,000. In 1947, after the end of the Second World War, the population bounced back to 1,800,000.²⁰⁹ With the influx of refugees after 1949, the population of Hong Kong had rapidly increased to 2,500,000 by 1952.²¹⁰ According to a report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), released on March 1, 1955, the estimated number of political refugees in Hong Kong was 385,000 and the total number including family members was around 670,000.²¹¹ By the end of Grantham's tenure, the estimated number of arrivals was somewhere between 5,000 and 15,000 a month.²¹²

The immediate problem caused by refugees was "overcrowding" and housing problem. At the height of the influx, as many as 600,000 squatters had scattered throughout the colony, spilling out of the congested slum dwellings. The squatters were living in the most squalid and flimsy shacks made out of beaten kerosene tins in bombed-out areas in the city or on adjacent hill-sides. Another 300,000 people living in slums needed to be re-settled. Thus, out of a population of 2.5 million, there were all together 900,000 people needing to be re-settlement.²¹³ The intolerable situation was made worse by the outbreak of the disastrous fires in the squatter areas at Tong Tau, Kowloon City and Shek Kip Mei, in November 1951 and on Christmas Day 1953, respectively. The former left some 10,000 people homeless and the later affected more than 50,000. The Shek Kip Mei fire marked the turning point in the government's policies regarding refugees; the government then understood that the

²⁰⁹ Peng Qi-rui, Xue Feng-xuan, Su Ze-lin, *Xianggang yu Aomen [Hong Kong and Macau]* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, Hong Kong, 1986), 118-23; David Ngai and Katherine Lo, "Xianggang Jiaohui Lishi Yu Chengsh Fazhan De Guanxi: 1900-1980," ["The Relationship between Hong Kong Church History and City Development: 1900-1980"] in *Mission in Urban Hong Kong*, ed. David Ngai and Katherine Lo (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Chinese Coordination Centre of World Evangelism, 1988), 47.

²¹⁰ *Hong Kong Year Book 1955* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, 1956), A9.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, A 10.

²¹² Grantham, "Hong Kong," 123.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 123-24; *idem*, *Via Ports*, 153-54;

refugees would most likely stay in Hong Kong for good. The government then began to realise that accommodation was not the only problem and that medical care, education, and other basic amenities were also desperately needed.²¹⁴ The cost of meeting these social needs was enormous. In fact, approximately one-third of the colony's expenditures, direct and indirect, were directed toward refugees. Grantham, as the governor of Hong Kong, continued to petition government officials and ministers in London, yet "all in vain, we got nothing."²¹⁵ It must be remembered that the post-war reconstruction of Europe was also in progress at the time. The British government naturally focused most of its attention and effort on rebuilding its own cities and providing relief for the war-torn European continent.²¹⁶ This explains why the colony got no funds for long term relief programmes from the nation governing the territory in the long term refugee relief programme.

For most of the refugees, Hong Kong was only a temporary haven. Originally, they did not intend to stay in the territory for good, since they expected to return to the mainland later. In fact, Hong Kong was not a materially affluent society in the post-war period. The average per capita income in Hong Kong was US\$180 in 1948,²¹⁷ probably less than one-fifth of that in Britain.²¹⁸ The inundation of refugees caused the total collapse of the social welfare system of the colony, particularly in the areas of housing, education, and medical service. This was due in part to the fact that a social welfare system was basically nonexistent in Hong Kong at that time.²¹⁹ In fact, before 1965, there was no governmental social welfare policy in Hong Kong.²²⁰ The burning issues at that time, such as housing, education, medical and social services, were mainly handled by local and overseas voluntary organisations, most of

²¹⁴ Grantham, *Via Ports*, 155-59; idem, "Hong Kong," 124.

²¹⁵ Grantham, *Via Ports*, 157-58. Sir Alexander Grantham says, "I requested financial assistance from H.M.G. I begged, I pleaded, I wrote dispatches, I wrote letters, I spoke to officials, I spoke to ministers. But all in vain, we got nothing." (158)

²¹⁶ Lo Lung-kwong, "Xianggang Jiaohui Xuanjiao Shiming De Huigu Yu Fansing," ["Retrospection and Reflections of Missions of the Church in Hong Kong"] in *Your Kingdom, Your City—A Symposium of Reflections on Local Christian Missions*, ed. Chin Pak-tau (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Fellowship of Evangelical Students, 1986), 34.

²¹⁷ Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, David Newman, and Alvin Rabushka, *Forecasting Political Events: The Future of Hong Kong* (New Haven, Connecticut and London, UK: Yale University Press, 1985), 62. In 1955, the ranges of daily wages of skilled workers, semi-skilled workers and unskilled workers were HK\$7 to \$12; HK\$5 to \$6; and HK\$3 to \$6, respectively. See *Hong Kong Annual Report 1955* (Hong Kong: The Government Printer, 1956).

²¹⁸ Grantham, *Via Ports*, 158.

²¹⁹ Sin, "Shehui Zuzhi Yu Shehui Zhuanbian," ["Social Organisation and Social Changes,"] 195-97.

²²⁰ Nelson Chow, *Xianggang Shehui Fuli Zhengce Pingxi* [A Study of Hong Kong's Social Welfare Policy] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Cosmos Books, 1984), 42.

which were Christian mission organizations.²²¹ Those organisations were welcome to provide funds for building cottage-type dwellings for refugees, establishing schools, distributing free food, running clinics and providing youth clubs. In fact, the total amount of relief provided by those organisations in the 1950's exceeded that provided by the colonial government.²²² Grantham applauds their commitment that "[i]n no sphere of relief work were they not actively and efficiently engaged."²²³

As with the refugees, Hong Kong was considered a midway station for Western missionaries to China after the establishment of the PRC government. Since most missionaries stationed in Hong Kong considered themselves to be in a transitional period, they shared the refugees' hope to be allowed eventually to return to the mainland. The missionaries who had fled not only provided manpower for the territory's Christian community, but also brought along connections with their mother missionary societies. The outcome was that the resources made available for mission ministry in Mainland China got transferred to Hong Kong.²²⁴ Through its close-knit relationships, the church received abundant relief, in terms of manpower, money donations, food and material supplies, from the First World, particularly the United States.²²⁵ Since Hong Kong was not a materially affluent society, the arrival of personnel and resources from the missionary societies greatly enhanced the image and reputation of local churches.²²⁶ Both the colonial government and the public as a whole appreciated the churches' intensive relief work, made possible by the benevolence of the missionary organizations. The presence of a strong missionary force was bound to alter Hong Kong's Christian context. To the colonial government, the churches were relatively reliable partners in social welfare. Having

²²¹ Sin, "Shehui Zuzhi Yu Shehui Zhuanbian," ["Social Organisation and Social Changes,"] 198-200; Chow, *Xianggang Shehui Fuli Zhengce Pingxi* [A Study of Hong Kong's Social Welfare Policy], 42; Grantham, *Via Ports*, 157.

²²² Chow, *Xianggang Shehui Fuli Zhengce Pingxi* [A Study of Hong Kong's Social Welfare Policy], 25-28.

²²³ Grantham, *Via Ports*, 157.

²²⁴ Chow, *Xianggang Shehui Fuli Zhengce Pingxi* [A Study of Hong Kong's Social Welfare Policy], 24-26; Lo Lung-kwong, "Xianggang Jiaohui Xuanjiao Shiming De Huigu Yu Fansing," ["Retrospection and Reflections of Missions of the Church in Hong Kong,"] in *Your Kingdom, Your City—A Symposium of Reflections on Local Christian Missions*, ed. Chin Pak-tau (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Fellowship of Evangelical Students, 1986), 34.

²²⁵ Chan Shun-hing, "Xianggang Jidujiao Shehui Fuli Shiye De Fazhan," ["The Development of Christian Social Service in Hong Kong,"] (in Chinese) *China Graduate School of Theology (CGST) Journal* No. 25 (1998.7): 67-69; Lo, "Xianggang Jiaohui Xuanjiao Shiming De Huigu Yu Fansing," ["Retrospection and Reflections of Missions of the Church in Hong Kong,"] 34; Kwok, *A Church in Transition*, 6. The supplies included: rice, noodles, canned food, milk powder, and clothing.

²²⁶ Leung, *Christian Work at Rennie's Mill Refugees Camp in the 50's*, 51-62.

been founded by Western missionary societies, the churches had deep Western roots.²²⁷ More importantly, the church as a whole was considered to be politically neutral, having no connection with either Beijing or Taipei. The colonial government therefore was willing to work with the churches and missionary societies to solve some enormous social problems.²²⁸

Reasons for the British to Remain in Hong Kong

In reality, the vast majority of the British public had little interest in Hong Kong. Until 1984, Britain's media coverage of Hong Kong affairs was virtually nonexistent. Many British were not even aware that Hong Kong had been a British Crown colony for over a hundred years. Moreover, the public considered Hong Kong as the host to sweat shops competing unfairly with the British textile industry.²²⁹ The British public, so lacking in sympathy, would have welcomed any proposal to hand over the colony to China and would have even questioned why this had not been done earlier.²³⁰ Why then did the British government choose to remain in Hong Kong?

Strategically, Hong Kong was considered, along with a string of British naval stations around the world, as necessary for providing bunkering and repair facilities for the Royal Navy, and had also been valued commercially since the nineteenth century. In the post-World War II period, Hong Kong was still considered to be one of the military outposts for protecting British territories in South-east Asia, notably Malaya. Until 1967, Britain remained committed to the policy of "East of Suez" with a large military and naval base in Singapore. However, the policy was abandoned in 1968 and all bases had been closed down by 1971, due to economic pressures leading to the devaluation of the pound sterling. After that time, the Britain's defence effort shifted to Europe and the North Atlantic. In the 1970s and the 1980s, the British forces in Hong Kong was actually too small to defend the territory against a full-scale attack by the People's Liberation Army,²³¹ although Sir Alexander Grantham had argued in the

²²⁷ Lo Lung-kwong, "Zongjiao Yu Shequ: Xianggang Jiaohui Canyu Shequ Gongzuo De Lishi Jingyan Yu Fansi," ["Religion and Community: A Historical Experience and Reflection of the Hong Kong Church's Participation in Community Work"] in *Love Your Neighbour: Theory and Practice of Church Community Work*, ed. Lo Lung-kwong (in Chinese) (Taipei: Campus Evangelical Fellowship, 2003), 193.

²²⁸ Lo, "Xianggang Jiaohui Xuanjiao Shiming De Huigu Yu Fansing," ["Retrospection and Reflections of Missions of the Church in Hong Kong"] 34.

²²⁹ Bueno de Mesquita, Newman, and Rabushka, *Forecasting Political Events*, 70.

²³⁰ Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, 3rd updated and rev. ed., 7.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 3-5.

1950s that the United States forces in Taiwan and the Seventh Fleet could be used to defend Hong Kong.²³² Being a traditional ally of the United States and a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, Britain was obligated to participate in the Cold War effort to eradicate Communism. The Hong Kong government actually implemented the anti-Communist policy of the Foreign Office in London.²³³ In the 1950's after the outbreak of the Korean War, the British even supported the embargo against China, despite the hardship this would mean for its own colony.²³⁴ During this time, Hong Kong became an isolated British Empire outpost and in case of an emergency, it would need to receive reinforcements from Britain, who would need to fly across North America to reach Hong Kong. Deploying the British army in Hong Kong was significant for two reasons: Firstly, it was symbolic action, visually proving Britain's commitment to the territory; and secondly, the army could provide back-up for local police in internal security operations.²³⁵

The arriving troops of the reinforcement of the British garrison in Hong Kong in 1949 were given a moral reason for coming to Hong Kong. They were told that defending Hong Kong people against the Communist threat was the primary cause of their mission and protecting the British economic interests was secondary.²³⁶ Although this noble argument must be regarded with certain scepticism, no one would deny that the British government has always taken public opinion into account.²³⁷ A member of the Colonial Office told Grantham that sending massive reinforcements to Hong Kong in 1949 was a political move. The Labour government may have feared that the loss of Hong Kong would give them a disadvantage in the next general election.²³⁸ Nevertheless, it was a policy well accepted by both the Labour and Conservative governments in the 1960s and the 1970s that Britain should neither hold back any territory wishing to become independent nor push any territory faster than it wished to go. This policy surely would have been applied to Hong Kong.²³⁹ The

²³² Grantham, *Via Ports*, 171.

²³³ Norman Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, 5th ed. (Hong Kong/New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), xv-xvi.

²³⁴ Beatrice Leung and Chan Shun-hing, *Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong 1950-2000* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003), 25.

²³⁵ Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, 3rd updated and rev. ed., 5-6.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 6, 15, footnote 16. For details, see Harold Ingrams, *Hong Kong* (London, UK: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1952), 284.

²³⁷ Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, 3rd updated and rev. ed., 7.

²³⁸ Grantham, *Via Ports*, 143; Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, 3rd updated and rev. ed., 7.

²³⁹ Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, 3rd updated and rev. ed., 7-8.

results of the two parties' consensus on this policy was that the British governments virtually stopped paying lip-service to the moral cause of defending Hong Kong.

Economically, the colony of Hong Kong provided Britain with modest visible and invisible benefits. In general, Hong Kong was not a captive market for British goods but had to compete on equal terms with goods from other countries in Hong Kong's free market. Nonetheless, Britain, as the mother country of the colony, gained funds from Hong Kong in various form, such as pensions for retired Hong Kong civil servants living in Britain, dividends for British shareholders in Hong Kong firms, and payments for commercial facilities arranged through London. The franchised transportation companies were required to purchase vehicles manufactured in the Commonwealth. The nationalised British Airways Corporation acquired from Britain the authority to negotiate landing rights at Hong Kong's Kai-tak Airport, giving Britain a very forceful bargaining chip in exchange for preferential foreign routes to British Airways. On the contrary, quotas were imposed upon Hong Kong's exports to Britain in order to protect Britain's own textile industry.²⁴⁰

Among all the economic benefits Britain derived from her mother country status, the large sterling balances which Hong Kong maintained in London was the most obvious. From 1941 to 1972, Hong Kong was obliged as a British colony to keep its external reserves in sterling. When sterling was devalued in November 1967, Hong Kong's sterling reserves suffered a total loss of HK\$450 million. In 1974, Hong Kong's sterling reserves represented about 12 percent of Britain's total foreign liabilities and accounted for about 27 percent of the total gold and foreign exchange reserves held by the Bank of England. In fact, the proportion had been even higher in previous years; for instance, in March 1967 Hong Kong's balances represented about 35 percent of the assets of the Bank of England. This explains the pound sterling two cents decline against the US dollar on the foreign exchange markets when the *Daily Telegraph* reported a rumour on September 28, 1973 that Hong Kong was considering withdrawing its funds from London.²⁴¹

In summary, Hong Kong's prosperity provided a base of development of mainland China in the post-World War period, largely through China's foreign

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 9, 13-14; Bueno de Mesquita, Newman, and Rabushka, *Forecasting Political Events*, 69-70.

²⁴¹ Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, 3rd updated and rev. ed., 10-13, 17, footnote 40.

exchange earnings from doing business in and with Hong Kong.²⁴² Entrepreneurs, trading companies, and individuals from Britain and other countries also benefited from commerce and financial activities in Hong Kong. The local residents, many having fled China during and after the civil war, realised that Hong Kong was a land of opportunity. Thus, there was formed “a tripod of consent,”²⁴³ which included the British, the Chinese, and Hong Kong residents, to maintain the territory’s sophisticated stability and to create a haven for economic success.

Christian Educational and Social Services

Since the missionary-run schools had formed the foundation of the educational system in the early development of the colony, the influx of refugees in 1950 offered another opportunity for the missionary-run (or church-run) schools to play a more important role in this arena.

As mentioned above, the influx of refugees from Mainland China attracted the assistance from the First World’s churches and international agencies. A study reveals that the foreign relief services provided by the church paved the way for the establishment of the Christian social welfare organisations in the territory. The withdrawal of funds and resources of the overseas churches and agencies in the 1960s triggered the localisation process of social welfare services in Hong Kong. Henceforth, the Christian social organizations have taken up the dominant share of responsibility in the welfare sector. In the 1980s, the Government decided to provide financial support to most of the voluntary social services organisations, of which the majority was closely related to Christian churches.²⁴⁴ In summary, the

²⁴² The Chinese government reiterated that the treaties are invalid since 1949. One of the most authoritative statements of the Chinese position was the letter sent by Huang Hua, then China’s permanent representative at the United Nations, to the Special Committee on Colonialism on March 10, 1972 that “The questions of Hong Kong and Macao belong to the category of questions resulting from the series of unequal treaties which the imperialist imposed on China. Hong Kong and Macao are part of Chinese territory occupied by the British and Portuguese authorities. The settlement of the questions of Hong Kong and Macao is entirely within China’s sovereign right and do not at all fall under the ordinary category of colonial territories....”

Then, why did the PRC government tolerate the existence of a foreign enclave on its doorstep for so many years? Indisputably, economic benefits had to rank first in Beijing’s calculation. For instance, the estimated receipts from Hong Kong was about 30 to 40 percent, around US\$6 billion each year, of China’s total earnings of foreign exchange since the mid-1960s. For an overview of the economic relationship between China and Hong Kong during the post-World War II period, see Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, 3rd updated and rev. ed., 21-28; Bueno de Mesquita, Newman, and Rabushka, *Forecasting Political Events*, 67-69.

²⁴³ Bueno de Mesquita, Newman, and Rabushka, *Forecasting Political Events*, 64.

²⁴⁴ Chan, “Xianggang Jidujiao Shehui Fuli Shiye De Fazhan,” [“The Development of Christian

church and local Christian organisations came to be and remain the largest service providers in the sectors of education and social services in Hong Kong. The data shows that they are responsible for a substantial percentage of the social services, including 20 percent of the hospital beds and more than 60 percent of the social work-related services in the territory.²⁴⁵ Undoubtedly, the church has contributed to the betterment of the society as it has provided welfare services to the needy. However, the church's commitment to both businesses reveals a special dynamics between the Christian community and the government that can be referred to as mutual accommodation and benefit. From the late nineteenth century, the government of Hong Kong has financially underwritten the educational and social services rendered by the churches, while the latter has lifted a significant burden from the government's shoulders.²⁴⁶

What was the possible major factor contributing to the establishment of the Christian empire of education and social services in Hong Kong? Was it a coincidental happening or a calculated policy of the colonial government?

Bishop Ronald Owen Hall and Sir Alexander Grantham on Christian Social Services

Whenever the church business of education and social services in Hong Kong is mentioned, the Rev. R. O. Hall, the late Bishop of the Anglican Church in Hong Kong (*Sheng Kung Hui*), is always mentioned. The Rev. Hall was the seventh Anglican Bishop in Hong Kong, having been enthroned on December 30, 1932,²⁴⁷ and serving in the territory for thirty-four years. He was famous for his love of the Chinese²⁴⁸ and established a special relationship with the Chinese Communist government after 1949.

In the 1950s, Bishop Hall was burdened about the social needs of the poor and pressed the colonial government to seek solutions to the many social problems in the territory. Bishop Hall's ministry has been praised for four efforts: First, he urged

Social Service in Hong Kong,"] 69-83.

²⁴⁵ Kwok, *A Church in Transition*, 7.

²⁴⁶ Deborah Ann Brown, *Turmoil in Hong Kong on the Eve of Communist Rule: The Fate of the Territory and Its Anglican Church* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1993), 108-10.

²⁴⁷ David M. Paton, *R. O.: The Life and Times of Bishop Ronald Hall of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: The Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau and the Hong Kong Diocesan Association, 1985), 79.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 23-54. Chapter II, "Students, China and the World Church," reports that Bishop Hall's experience in China in the 1920's in Shanghai had shaped his later life of ministry. Paton describes Hall's relationship with China as "...the love affairs with China begun in 1922..." (53).

the government to act to solve the housing problem. Second, he initiated dialogue and cooperation with the Left and even helped Hong Kong's leftist labour unions found the primary and secondary schools. Third, he expressed his deep concerns about labour issues and promoted the establishing of community churches in the industrial areas to serve the labourers. Fourth, he persuaded the Hong Kong Government to subsidise the church-run schools, leading to the expansion of the Christian educational system in the 1950s.²⁴⁹

In 1956, Bishop Hall made a three-week trip to China, marking the first time a Hong Kong church leader had contacted the Chinese Communist regime. This trip explains why his opponents labelled him as "the Red Bishop".²⁵⁰ Many of his speeches about the Beijing regime led many members of the public to suspect him of being pro-Communist.²⁵¹ Hall's image as "the Red Bishop" was firmly established in the political and ecclesiological circles in the region for several decades to come. The Beijing Government referred to him as "a most open-minded man among Westerners."²⁵²

However, one document tells another side of Bishop Hall's story. In a personal letter, dated September 16, 1950, addressed to the Secretary of the Board of Education of the Education Department of Hong Kong, Hall explains:

In view of what was said by two members of the Board who do not share my Christian faith, I could not say publicly that my main concern is with the use of Christian Churches by subsidy in primary education. The Government both in the U.K. and in its colonial policy recognises that by and large only religion can resist Communism and that non religious secular primary education on a large scale will produce an atheistic proletariat as prepared ground for Communist sowing. I very much hope that the Roman Catholic Church will with encouragement from the Department strengthen

²⁴⁹ Lo, "Xianggang Jiaohui Xuanjiao Shiming De Huigu Yu Fansing," ["Retrospection and Reflections of Missions of the Church in Hong Kong"] 35-36.

²⁵⁰ Paton, R. O.: *The Life and Times of Bishop Ronald Hall of Hong Kong*, 188.

²⁵¹ Deborah Ann Brown has a survey of Bishop Hall's expressions about the government in Beijing. For instance, Hall said the Chinese Government was truly concerned about the welfare of the people and was a "minister of God." (96) He said "China under Communist leadership was obeying God in its passionate determination for moral reformation." (96-97) He was satisfied that "the patterns of government implemented by the Communists were working well in New China." (97) He thought that the communist government was functioning at a "high level of efficiency and reasonableness" and the "errors that exist would be spotted." (97) He was convinced that the Beijing Government "had shown its power to rule, to control, and to make other nations reckon with China." (98) He even praised "communism as Christ's minister." (98) See Brown, *Turmoil in Hong Kong on the Eve of Communist Rule*, 91-102.

²⁵² Brown, *Turmoil in Hong Kong on the Eve of Communist Rule*, 109.

and enlarge their primary School work.²⁵³

The reply from G. P. Ferguson, Secretary of the Board of Education, reveals the government's full agreement with Bishop Hall's point of view:

I agree entirely with your view in your penultimate paragraph. I consider myself that religion should play a more and more important part in schools since it is the very essence of cultured civilization... I read the report of your address with interest and can well sympathise with your feelings.²⁵⁴

The significance of this correspondence is threefold: Firstly, Bishop Hall's proposal was most likely accepted by the colonial government led by Sir Alexander Grantham, and was the prime cause of the rapid expansion of the church-run schools in the 1950s. It is not surprising that the Anglican school system made the most noticeable expansion among the denominations as mentioned in the previous section.²⁵⁵ Before the 1997 handover to China, a substantial portion of the schools, that is at least 40 percent of the secondary schools, primary schools, and kindergartens in the territory, were run by the church and church organizations.²⁵⁶ Secondly, the colonial government considered the churches' social involvement, particularly in education, to be a useful political tool to help prevent the spread of Communism. Finally, the question remains as to whether Bishop Hall was accurately labelled "the Red Bishop?" Was he in fact a pro-Communist Bishop? Was he an admirer of Communism? Only Bishop Hall himself could answer such questions. However, one document at least has provided us with new evidence to be used in reconsidering

²⁵³ "The Letter of Bishop R. O. Hall, Bishop of Hong Kong and South China to the Secretary, Board of Education, 16th September, 1950." Hong Kong Record Series 147 2/2(1), 119, Hong Kong Public Record Office.

²⁵⁴ "Letter of Secretary of Board of Education to the Rt. Rev. R. O. Hall, the Bishop of Hong Kong, Ref. E.D. 3/2106/45." Hong Kong Record Series, 147 2/2 (1), 120, Hong Kong Public Record Office; cited in Leung and Chan, *Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong 1950-2000*, 27.

²⁵⁵ See footnote 68 of this chapter.

²⁵⁶ In 1997, the total number of kindergartens was 735, of primary schools was 847, of secondary schools is 563, and of post-secondary colleges was 9. Protestant organizations operate three post-secondary universities: Chung Chi College at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Baptist University, and Lingnan College. They run 144 secondary schools, 192 primary schools, 273 kindergartens and 116 nurseries. In addition, there are 329 schools and kindergartens run by the Catholic organizations. Data taken from "General Information on Education in Hong Kong: Educational Institutions by Level/Type," Statistical Information, Educational and Manpower Bureau, SAR of the PRC; English; available from <http://www.info.gov.hk/emb/eng/statist/index.html>; Internet; accessed 16 December 2002; and "Protestant Community," HONG KONG – A New Era, *Hong Kong Yearbook 1997*, SAR of the PRC; available from <http://www.info.gov.hk/isd/hk98/ch21/e21c.htm>; English; Internet; accessed 9 December 2002; and "The Roman Catholic Community," HONG KONG – A New Era, *Hong Kong Yearbook 1997*, SAR of the PRC; English; available from <http://www.info.gov.hk/isd/hk98/ch21/e21d.htm>; Internet; accessed 9 December 2002.

the fairness of the popular label given him. We have reason to raise a more reasonable question, namely was Bishop Hall was a pro-Communist Bishop or rather a Bishop with sophisticated and instinctive skills in politics as well as a diplomatic genius. It is reasonable and fair to conclude from studying the letter addressed to the head of the Hong Kong school board that Bishop Hall did not accept the ideology of Communism and did try to make use of religious education to protect Hong Kong from the infection of the Communist ideology. Nevertheless, he fully understood the political reality that Hong Kong could not survive without the cooperation of Beijing;²⁵⁷ therefore he adopted a two-faced tactic to achieve his goal.

What was Grantham's stance on education and Communism?

After serving as governor of Hong Kong for a year, Grantham wrote a letter to Hong Kong's Secretary of State, expressing his serious concern over the infiltration of Communists into the territory's education system:

A potentially greater danger than any of those mentioned in your telegrams...is presented by the increasing Communist infiltration into schools... Evidence produced in that case [the recent deportation of five Communists] confirms that the efforts of the Chinese Communists and pseudo-communists in this Territory are being directed at the young and comprise not [repeat not] merely indoctrination but actual recruitment for service with real organisations and forces in South China.²⁵⁸

A month later, Grantham sounded a note of warning of the insidious dangers of politics in schools, implicitly referring to the potential spread of Communism in Hong Kong:

There are those, and to my mind they are the most evil, who wish to use schools as a means of propaganda and poison the minds of their young pupils with their particular political dogma or creed of most undesirable kind. This we know is what happened in the schools of Fascist States and is now happening in Communist-dominated countries. This deforming and twisting of the youthful mind is most wicked and the Hong Kong Government will tolerate no political propaganda in schools.²⁵⁹

In November 1948, the Director of Education was authorised with the power to

²⁵⁷ As Hong Kong is a place with no natural resources, the society totally depends on import of the basic necessities from Mainland China, such as fresh water and foods: rice, vegetables, poultry, and meat. The basic cooperation of Beijing is embodied by a guarantee of an adequate supply of daily necessities to Hong Kong.

²⁵⁸ Sir Alexander Grantham to Sofs, 1103 Top Secret, 30 November 1948; cited in Sweeting, *A Phoenix Transformed*, 199.

²⁵⁹ *South China Morning Post*, 29 April 1948, 3; cited in Sweeting, *A Phoenix Transformed*, 199.

refuse or cancel the registration of any teacher who attempted to spread Communist influence in Hong Kong schools, since some schools were known to be the recruiting points for armed Communist organisations in South China.²⁶⁰ In defence of the legislation against the spread of Communism in the colony, Grantham explicitly pointed out the potentially danger when there is a linkage between education and political ramifications:

[The] Chinese Communist Party, when they achieve complete control over China, may wish to have an office in the Colony just as the KMT have now. This would give them a base in our midst which would be [a] focus for disaffection and trouble making. Proposed legislation will prevent this and will also facilitate control over subversive elements in education and labour. It will provide a means of control over the Communist singing groups and dramatic societies which act as vehicles for communist propaganda and penetration.²⁶¹

As mentioned previously, Lam Chi-fung quoted Grantham's speech, claiming that the concepts of democracy, equity, and freedom are rooted in Christian education, which is the only measure to prevent the world from disputes and chaos. Therefore, it is justifiable to assume that Bishop Hall and Grantham were in basic agreement concerning the influence of Christian education on politics. This explains how Christian education was adopted as a tool to prevent the spread of Communism in Hong Kong.

British Colonial Policies in Asia – Malaya's Experience

After World War II, when Malaya was in the process of decolonisation, a state of emergency was declared in 1948 in reaction to a Communist uprising. A scheme known as the New Village, was carried out in 1950 as a counter-insurgency strategy. Half a million Chinese squatters, upon whom the Communists relied for supplies and information, were resettled to these villages, to isolate the Communist guerillas from this civilian population.²⁶² The plan was executed by Sir Gerald Templer, the High

²⁶⁰ Minutes of the Executive Council, 23 November 1948, in CO537/3729; cited in Sweeting, *A Phoenix Transformed*, 199.

²⁶¹ Grantham to SofS, 311 Secret, 1 April 1949, in CO537/4824; cited in Sweeting, *A Phoenix Transformed*, 200. For detailed discussion on education as a means to achieve political goals in colonial Hong Kong after 1949, see Sweeting, *A Phoenix Transformed*, 192-220; Leung and Chan, *Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong 1950-2000*, 23-30.

²⁶² Michael S. Northcott, "Two Hundred Years of Anglican Mission," in *Christianity in Malaysia: A Denominational History*, ed. Robert Hunt, Lee Kam Hing, John Roxborough (Selengor Darul Ehsan, Malaysia: Pelanduk Publications, 1992), 58; A. J. Stockwell, "Southeast Asia in War and Peace: The End of European Colonial Empires," in *The Cambridge of History of Southeast Asia - Vol. 2: The*

Commissioner of Malaya. The seeds of this plan had been sown by his predecessor, Sir Henry Gurney, who was assassinated in October 1951.²⁶³ A prime thrust of the project was that the missionaries expelled from China would work in these villages. Sir Gerald Templer was impressed by the missionaries' work and expressed his appreciation for a new Anglican missionary who "was more than a division of British troops."²⁶⁴ He explained to the British missionary societies that the resettlement areas were an important field for Christian missions. There would be a battle for the "hearts and minds" of the new villagers, especially Communist sympathisers and supporters, and Christian missionaries would play a vital role. He openly offered government funds to recruit missionaries with China experience, as they could be "the most effective people" in the ideological battle against Communism.²⁶⁵ Most mission societies rejected Sir Temple's offer because to an earlier experience in China when missionaries had been accused of being agents of imperialism. In colonial Malaysia, some societies accepted the grants-in-aid for clinics and educational work, just as grants were received for similar work in Hong Kong. The clinics and schools in the New Villages served as a base for evangelistic activities among Chinese. Undoubtedly, these projects would have been far smaller without the governmental funds for recruiting missionaries.²⁶⁶ Michael Northcott plainly asserts that Sir Gerald Templer used Christianity to defeat the Communist insurgency.²⁶⁷

Clearly, British colonial governments in Asia had a policy to use Christian educational and other ministries, such as medical services, in Malaya and Hong Kong as a weapon to fight Communism. In other words, the promotion of education and medical ministries in the Asian colonies was no coincidence. A. J. Stockwell says that the British never forgot that "Communism in Asia cannot be checked by military means alone."²⁶⁸ This remark suggests that the colonial governments had a clear

Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, ed. Nicholas Tarling (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 376. For a discourse on Malaya's decolonisation and counter-insurgency, 1948-1957, see Stockwell, "Southeast Asia in War and Peace: The End of European Colonial Empires," 374-80.

²⁶³ Stockwell, "Southeast Asia in War and Peace: The End of European Colonial Empires," 376.

²⁶⁴ Robin Woods, *Robin Woods: An Autobiography* (London, UK: SCM, 1986), 102; cited in Northcott, "Two Hundred Years of Anglican Mission," 58.

²⁶⁵ Northcott, "Two Hundred Years of Anglican Mission," 58-59. For Sir Gerald Templer's argument, see Letter from Sir Gerald Temper to the Chairman of the Conference of British Missionaries Societies, 25th February 1952. Microfiche, STM archives.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸ Sir Anthony Eden, *Full Circle: The Memoirs of Anthony Eden* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), 109; cited in Stockwell, "Southeast Asia in War and Peace: The End of

policy to use Christian organisation to fight Communism. Hence, it is reasonable to infer that a British colonial policy was developed in response to the Communist threat that allowed Christian churches and organisations become the largest providers in the education and social services in Hong Kong.

Patron-Client Relationship

Patronage was a first-century phenomenon which has been taken as a model to explain the internal and external problems in the church at Corinth and used particularly in Pauline studies where relations in Republican Rome and the early Empire are crucial in the interpretation of texts. Specifically, certain behavioural problems in the church at Corinth can be better understood in light of the phenomenon of patronage. John K. Chow applies the social-historical method to his study of the concept of patronage and social networks in Corinth. He attempts to analyse the implications of patronage for a clearer understanding of the relationships and the problems which arose in the church at Corinth.²⁶⁹ Is it possible that the model of patronage may be useful for understanding the relationships between Baptists in Hong Kong and the colonial government?

Based on the research of Eisenstadt and Roniger on the issue,²⁷⁰ Chow reviews seven types of patron-client relations: an exchange relation, an asymmetrical relation, a particularistic and informal relation, a supra-legal relation, a binding and long-range relation, a voluntary relation, and a vertical relation. Among these, the first three types of patron-client relation are relevant to our study.²⁷¹

The first type is "an exchange relation" in which the patron gives the client what he/she needs, and in turn gains from the client what he/she wants. It is similar to a

European Colonial Empires," 377.

²⁶⁹ John K. Chow, *Patronage and Power: A Study of Social Networks in Corinth* (Sheffield, UK: JSOT Press, 1992), 28, 30, 36.

²⁷⁰ S. N. Eisenstadt and Luis Roniger, *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 48-49. In fact, the patron-client relations is a universal phenomena in underdeveloped countries, developing countries, and developed countries, according to Eisenstadt and Roniger. For a detailed discussion, see Eisenstadt and Roniger, *Patrons, Clients and Friends*, 43-165.

²⁷¹ The rest of the patron-client types are as follows: The fourth type is "a supra-legal relation" that is usually not fully legal and is based on mutual and subtle understanding. The fifth type is "a binding and long-range relation" which carries a strong sense of interpersonal obligation. The sixth type is "a voluntary relation" that the relation is established voluntarily and can be abandoned voluntarily in theory. The seventh type is "a vertical relation" which binds the patron and individual clients or networks of clients together, and a client may become a member of his patron's faction in time of crises. For details, see Chow, *Patronage and Power*, 31-33.

kind of exchange relationships based on friendship through which different resources can be simultaneously exchanged. The patron grants the client tangible items and the client may repay the patron with intangible goods, such as political support. The second type is "an asymmetrical relation" in which the patron and the client are not of an equal status in terms of power and such a relation does not involve friendship ties. A core essence of this relation is inequality, in terms of power, which usually means the patron has access to scarce resources, either material or spiritual. Chow elaborates the dynamic of asymmetrical relation in his words:

The patron is a person who holds a key position over the access to such resources in a certain setting. Because the client is denied direct access to such resources, he [/she] is forced either to depend on the patron for the provision of such resources or to seek the mediation of the patron, who then becomes a broker, in order to get to the resources.²⁷²

This is a relation allowing persons of unequal (weaker) powers to attain their goals through personal ties. The strength of their ties can be measured by the degree of difficulty involved in acquiring the needed resources. Practically speaking, if the patron's power to monopolise is weakened, the ties between the patron and the client will also be weakened, causing the client to establish a new relationship with other patrons.²⁷³ The third type of patronage is "a particularistic and informal relation" in which resources are usually channelled to specific individuals or groups of individuals. This particularistic quality is essential to fostering a sense of solidarity between the patron and the client, and without the particularistic quality, their relation may be weakened.²⁷⁴

The interaction between Sir Alexander Grantham and Lam Chi-fung suggests that their relationship was a mixture of these three types, as the following observations note: Firstly, the relationship between Grantham and Lam seems to fit the pattern of an asymmetrical relation, as they were not equal in terms of power. Grantham, as the governor of Hong Kong, had absolute access to scarce resources in the colony, namely land and public finance. Thus, Grantham could absorb Lam by allocating land and government funding to the Baptist institutions. Secondly, since the favours granted by Sir Grantham were tangible items, such as land and governmental subsidy to the Baptist

²⁷² Ibid., 31-32.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 32.

schools, Lam as well as the Baptist community in Hong Kong whole-heartedly supported the colonial government during the political instability in the 1950s, resulting from the Communist threat. Thirdly, Grantham and Lam shared a common religious faith, adding the element of particularity, pivotal to giving them a sense of solidarity; the same sense of solidarity that existed between the colonial government and Hong Kong churches. Hence, all three of these types of relations can be aptly applied to the relation between the colonial government in Hong Kong and Baptists or more specifically to the relation between Grantham and Lam Chi-fung. The concept of patronage provides a useful model to reveal how persons of unequal power employ personal relationships to attain their goals.²⁷⁵

Kuan-hsi (Networks)

The concept of networks, like that of patronage, is useful as a guiding notion for analysing of the relational structure and problems in the Corinthian church along with the concept of patronage. This concept has been studied since the 1960s and used as an analytical tool of the interrelatedness of social relationships.²⁷⁶ According to J. Clyde Mitchell's definition, network is "a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons, with the additional property that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behaviour of the persons involved."²⁷⁷ Chow summarizes network analysis as a study of "the relationship between the patterns of ties in a defined social field so as to understand the behaviour of those involved in that field." It is "the basic and most direct way to study a social structure," making it possible to "see individuals in the light of their structural positions in a network or networks"; namely, "how network structures constrain social behaviour and social

²⁷⁵ Chan Shun-hing also adopts a model offered by Andrew G. Walder to discuss the patron-client relationship between the church and the colonial government in Hong Kong. Chan points out that according to Walder's theory, "the patron does not have to coerce his [her] followers into loyalty by force. Rather, because of his [her] power to own distribute resources, the follower will pledge allegiance voluntarily in anticipation of getting a share of the resources. The patron-client relationship is built on two essential conditions: the patron's monopoly and manipulation of relevant resources and the mutual understanding between the patron and the client. This understanding may be implicit and not endorsed by a written contract, but the power relationship that exists upon it is effective. In the event that the patron no longer monopolizes the resources, the follower will disclaim allegiance in anticipation of the loss of such resources. The understanding will cease and the relationship will fall apart." Leung and Chan, *Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong 1950-2000*, 44-45.

²⁷⁶ Chow, *Patronage and Power*, 33-34.

²⁷⁷ J. C. Mitchell, "The Concept and Use of Social Networks," in *Social Networks in Urban Situations*, ed. J. C. Mitchell (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1969), 2.

change.”²⁷⁸

In fact, the concept of network is an extremely importance element in Chinese culture. Ambrose Y. C. King, among the most renowned Chinese sociologists, in the beginning of his essay, “*Kuan-hsi* and Network Building: A sociological Interpretation,” strongly avows that those with a firsthand experience with Chinese society could not fail to observe that Chinese people are extremely sensitive to “face,” human obligation, and personal relationship” (*kuan-hsi*). These are the “key socio-cultural concepts to the understanding of Chinese social structure,” which are “part of the essential ‘stock knowledge’ of Chinese adults in their management of everyday life.”²⁷⁹ King uses the observations of Fox Butterfield, a former foreign correspondent of *The New York Times*, as an illustration of the phenomenon of *kuan-hsi* in Chinese societies. Butterfield notes that in Chinese society, people “instinctively divide people into those with whom they already have a fixed relationship, a connection, what the Chinese call *guan-xi* [*kuan-hsi*], and those they don’t.” The importance of these connections is that they “operate like a series of invisible threads, tying Chinese to each other with far greater tensile strength than mere friendship in the West would do. *Guan-xi* has created a social magnetic field in which all Chinese move, keenly aware of those people with whom they have connections and those they don’t.”²⁸⁰ King defines *kuan-hsi* as “a kind of personal connection,” similar to J. Bruce Jacobs’s “particularistic tie” and J. Clyde Mitchell’s “personal network.” However, he points out that either concept “does carry the meaning of *kuan-hsi*, but neither fully grasps the complicated and rich meaning of the word.”²⁸¹

King explains that “*kuan-hsi* building is the Chinese version of network building which is a universal phenomenon among cultures... To a significant degree the cultural dynamic of *kuan-hsi* building is a source of vitality in Chinese society.” As there are “mechanisms to neutralise or to freeze the practice of human obligation or *kuan-hsi*” in the very Chinese cultural system, people crave to have “room for universalistic rationality which is necessary for the management of economic and (in a Weberian sense) bureaucratic conduct.” More importantly, King argues that the

²⁷⁸ Chow, *Patronage and Power*, 34.

²⁷⁹ Ambrose Yeo-chi King, “*Kuan-hsi* and Network Building: A sociological Interpretation,” *Daedalus*, spring (1991): 63.

²⁸⁰ Fox Butterfield, *China: Alive in Bitter Sea* (London, UK: Coronet Books, 1983), 74-75; cited in King, “*Kuan-hsi* and Network Building: A sociological Interpretation,” 64.

²⁸¹ King, “*Kuan-hsi* and Network Building: A sociological Interpretation,” 68.

“practice of *kuan-hsi* per se is not necessarily incompatible with modernization” and there is “no sign that *kuan-hsi* building as an institutionalized mode of behaviour is disappearing in modernizing Chinese societies, like Taiwan or Hong Kong.”²⁸²

Adopting the idea of Chie Nakane, a Japanese anthropologist, King maintains that the principle of attribute is much more applicable for Chinese society. Attribute may refer to “being a member of a definite descent group or caste”; but it “may be acquired not only by birth but by achievement.” Chinese group consciousness is formed on a set of criteria, such as kinship, native place, dialect, religious belief, as a base for group identification. Moreover, the Chinese have “pluralistic” identifications with other individuals or social groups. It is because the “more attributes the individual has, the more *kuan-hsi* (personal networks) he [/she] is able to establish. As a result, he [/she] will be in a more advantageous position to mobilize resources in order to achieve his [/her] goals in a competitive world.”²⁸³

As Chinese, Lam Chi-fung and Baptists in the colony were unlikely to divorce *kuan-hsi* from their daily lives and social behaviour. Based on Nakane’s analysis, we can infer that the common attribute between Lam and Sir Alexander Grantham must have been established by Lam based on his achievement in society and the leaders’ common religious faith. Moreover, Lam must have realised that establishing *kuan-hsi* with Sir Grantham could have enabled him to mobilise government’s resources to accomplish the goals of Baptist social ministry in a competitive environment.

Conclusion

In the post-World War II era, Hong Kong society experienced tremendous changes both domestically and internationally. This was also the take-off period for Baptists in the colony under the leadership of Lam Chi-fung, the most prominent and influential Baptist leader in Hong Kong. In addition to their zealous evangelism ministry, Baptists were very active in social ministry, particularly in education and medical services. Lam considered being a Christian educator as his vocation. He was motivated by a belief in the strengths of Christian education, a strong belief in using education as a means of evangelism, a strong sense of Baptists’ heritage in education, and a concern for the practical and urgent needs in Hong Kong. His worries about

²⁸² Ibid., 79-80.

²⁸³ Ibid., 68-69.

marginalised status of Baptists were also an underlying incentive. Undoubtedly, the government's land grants and subsidies to the Baptist institutions were a crucial factor in the rapid development of Baptists' education ministry. However, the government's assistance aroused a bitter controversy between the laity and pastors, as some feared it might be a violation of the principle of church-state separation. A parallel development was observed among Baptists in the United States. Due to the democratic nature of Baptist polity, the laity as the majority gained ascendancy over the pastors' minority in the decision-making process. The establishment of the HKBEA was a typical example of how the Baptist laity and the Baptist pastors came to a pragmatic compromise on receiving benefits from the government.

Sir Alexander Grantham and Bishop Hall seemed to share a common understanding of the role of Christian education, i.e. it is the most effective means to prevent the spread of Communism in Hong Kong. It is apparent that same perception was embodied in the policy of the New Villages in Malaya during the period of Communist insurgency in the 1950s. This parallel situation points to a consistent colonial policy in the British colonies in Asia after World War II. Apparently, Lam Chi-fung and Baptists in Hong Kong were absorbed into the colonial government's anti-Communist scheme, since land grants and governmental subsidies were given to the Baptist institutions for this purpose. In exchange for government land and interest-free loans, Baptists set aside the principle of church-state separation. The patronage relation and *kuan-hsi* are discernible factors that can be used to explain the social behaviour of Lam Chi-fung and Chinese Christians in their social and cultural context. These two concepts help to explain how the close-knit relationship between the colonial government and Baptists was established. It can be seen how the Hong Kong Baptist community was recruited by the British colonial government as one of its agents of education and social services.

CHAPTER THREE

FROM THE HOLY ONE TO ONE'S OWN SELF

In the post-World War II period, the Baptist community in Hong Kong, under the leadership of Lam Chi-fung, established a partnership with the colonial government; namely, Baptists were drawn into the establishment. The take-off of the Baptist movement in this period can mainly be attributed to the growth of the three largest Baptist churches: Hong Kong Baptist Church, Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church, and Kowloon City Baptist Church. The acceptance of government subsidies and establishment of the HKBEA resulted from the democratic basis of Baptist polity causing the denominational body in Hong Kong to be controlled by the laity. Since the laity represented the majority opinion, their understanding of church-state separation became the dominant view shaping the church-state practice of Hong Kong Baptists.

One of the lessons to be learned from the government subsidy controversy is that there was a wide discrepancy between pastors and laity in their understanding of church-state separation. To explain this discrepancy, we need to ask certain core questions: First of all, what are the characteristics of Baptist polity allowing the laity to gain dominant position in the Baptist Convention? Secondly, how did the Baptist leaders, all members of the three largest Baptist churches, influence the church-state practice of the Baptist denomination? In other words, how did their understanding of church-state separation come to be the prevailing view on the issue in the denominational body? Thirdly, how did the formation of Hong Kong Baptists' spirituality shape their church-state practice? The answer can be found in studying the kind of worship life laity experienced in the three largest churches. Since it is necessary to find out where and to what extent Baptists learned the principle of church-state separation, it is important to determine whether or not the teaching on church-state separation was sufficiently emphasised in their worship and church life.

The main focus of this chapter is to explore Baptists' practice of worship and the effects of their worship on their church-state understanding. A study of the content of their worship services is important, since worship is the core of spirituality formation for Christians, including Baptists. The structure of this chapter is similar to that of the previous one in that it is divided into two parts. The first part is a study examining the phenomena of the development of the Baptist denominational body in Hong Kong; the organisational structure and composition of the leadership of the

denomination; a survey of the worship of the three largest Baptist churches, including orders of worship service, the messages of sermons, and the themes of worship service. The second part probes the theology of Wang Ming-tao and the prevailing heritage of premillennialism in Chinese theology since the second half of the nineteenth century. This relates to a particular situation involving state control of religion.

A Narrative of the Baptist Denominational Body in Hong Kong

The proposal to form a denominational body for Baptist churches was raised by Hong Kong Baptist Church in 1915.¹ However, this church was the only one church with its three chapels, Aberdeen, Cheung Chau, and Hung Hom. After twenty-three years of diligent work by Hong Kong Baptist Church, its two chapels, Aberdeen Baptist Church and Cheung Chau Baptist Church, became independent. Two more chapels, Yau Ma Tei and Kowloon City, were founded by Hong Kong Baptist Church, with a total Baptist membership of 1,778 in the territory.² In the spring of 1938, the plan for a denominational body was actualized, upon the initiative of Hong Kong Baptist Church. A preparation committee was formed with three members: Cheung

¹ Wong "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 117.

² See footnote 58 in the Introduction Chapter. The membership of Hong Kong Baptist Church, Cheung Chau Baptist Church, and Aberdeen Baptist Church were 1,530, 25, and 223, respectively, totally 1,778. See Taam Hei-tin, "Ershinian Xianggang Ge Jinxinghui Meinian Jiaoyou Renshu Tongjibiao," ["Statistics of the Membership of the Baptist Churches in Hong Kong for Twenty Years"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan 1938-1958* [Special Memorial Issue for the Twentieth Anniversary of The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association 1938-1958] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association, 1958).

However, this number has been somehow mistakenly stated as "1,178" in the later official publications of the Baptist Convention and other research, including: Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 117; Princeton S. Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1972), 4; Pang Hok-tan, "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Jianshi," ["A Brief History of the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Te Kan 1938-1988* [Special Memorial Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1989), 16; "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Huishi Ji Shigong Jianjie," ["A Brief Introduction of the History and Ministry of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Liushi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan 1938-1998*, [Special Memorial Issue for the Sixtieth Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1998] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1999), 16; Liu Chi-kun, printed text of "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Chengli Liushi Zhounian Jinian Ganen Shushi," ["A Thanksgiving History of Sixtieth Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] (in Chinese) delivered to the Thanksgiving Worship Service of Sixtieth Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, held at Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church, 25 April 1998, 2; Liu Chi-kun, "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Shigong Huigu," ["Retrospection of the Ministry of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Liushi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan 1938-1998*, [Special Memorial Issue for the Sixtieth Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1998] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1999), 35.

Man-chui, the Rev. Lau Yuet-shing, and Taam Hei-tin (The former two represented Hong Kong Baptist Church and the latter represented Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church, formerly Yau Ma Tei Chapel). The objectives of establishing a denominational body were firstly, “to enable the members of all the churches to have fellowship,” secondly, to “increase the churches’ strength as well as to further the preaching of the Gospel,” and finally, to “help the suffering church members on the mainland and help support the work of these churches,” in the midst of the invasion of China by Japan.³ On March 27, 1938, a total of 41 messengers (representatives) of the churches attended the meeting at Hong Kong Baptist Church, at which the Baptist denominational body of Hong Kong Baptist Association, was born.⁴ The messengers accepted the first charter and elected an Executive Committee of 21 members. The officers of the Committee included the Rev. Lau Yuet-shing (Chairperson), Wong Kwok-shuen (Vice Chairperson), Ng Fook-man (Secretary), Taam Hei-tin (Treasurer)⁵ with an annual budget of HK\$570.⁶ As the three main purposes for establishing, the Association was to establish better coordination among member churches, promote evangelism and offer help to the Baptist churches in mainland China, only two committees (or boards) were set up when the Association was formed: a Literature Committee and a Benevolence Committee.⁷ Since it was mainly supported by Hong Kong Baptist Church in its beginning, the Association had limited achievement in the first decade of its establishment. Furthermore, the outbreak of World War II and the Japanese

³ Frank, “Twenty Years History of The Hong Kong Baptist Association,” 1; also see Taam, “*Ershi Nian Lai De Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jian Shu*,” [“A Concise History of The Baptist Association of Hong Kong for Twenty Years”] 10.

⁴ Taam, “*Ershi Nian Lai De Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jian Shu*,” [“A Concise History of The Baptist Association of Hong Kong for Twenty Years”] 10. Messengers are representatives of the member churches. Simply speaking, the number of messengers is determined by the church’s membership in the proportion of 1:25, not to exceed a total of 25 messengers for each church when the Association was formed in 1938. See *Memorandum and Articles of Association of The United HongKong Christian Baptist Churches Association* (Incorporated the 25th day of April 1951) (Hong Kong: Hastings & Company), 13.

⁵ “*Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershi Zhounian Lishi*,” [“A Twenty-year History of The Baptist Association of Hong Kong”] in *Special Memorial Issue for the Twentieth Anniversary of The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association, 1958), 4. The Executive Committee was renamed the Committee of Management on August 14, 1953, effective on September 8, 1953. See “*Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Nianzhi*,” [“The Golden Anniversary Chronicles of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong”] in [Special Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1989), 20.

⁶ “*Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Sanshinian Jianshi*,” [“A Brief Thirty-Year History of The Baptist Association of Hong Kong”] in *Hong Kong Baptist Association Monthly* (in Chinese) vol. 24, no. 5 (1969):15.

⁷ “*Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershi Zhounian Lishi*,” [“A Twenty-year History of The Baptist Association of Hong Kong”] 4.

occupation of Hong Kong, from December 1941 to July 1945, caused a total halt of the Association's functions.

The Association was renamed the Hong Kong Christian Baptist Association in 1939 when it had to be registered with the government as a corporation. Due to World War II, the registration could not be completed until 1951 under the name of The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association.⁸ In 1973 the Association was again renamed The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong.⁹

An Overview of the Development of the Baptist Denominational Body

During the period from 1938 to 1984, the development of the denominational body can be divided into five stages, each with an interval of ten years. The major events that transpired in the development of the organisation are as follows:

The First Decade (1938-1947) – The Association's first activity in the first decade after its establishment was to make a donation to Baptists at Aberdeen after a typhoon in April 1938. The second project was to organise relief work for the war-torn Mainland China in the summer of 1937 after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. A denominational periodical was first published in February 1940, entitled, *Chen Xing Ji Kan (Morning Star Quarterly)*, which in January 1941 became the monthly, known as *Chen Xing Yue Kan (Morning Star Monthly)*, and which was renamed *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Yue Kan (Hong Kong Baptist Association Monthly)* in June 1946. Several evangelistic crusades from South China were organized by the Association, and the project to found Hong Kong Baptist Hospital was also instigated in that same year.¹⁰

The Second Decade (1948-1957) – The Evangelism Board was set up, through which two Swatow chapels at Sham Shui Po and Western District were operated in 1948. That same year, the Association's mission society was also set up, and the first Hong Kong Baptist missionary was sent to Taiwan for one year until the Southern Baptist missionaries started their work there. After a disastrous fire occurred at Kowloon City on January 9, 1950, Lam Chi-fung, chairperson of the

⁸ Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 117-18.

⁹ Pang, "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhu Jinxi Jianshi," ["A Brief History of the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] 18.

¹⁰ "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershi Zhounian Lishi," ["A Twenty-year History of The Baptist Association of Hong Kong"] 4-5; "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Nianzhi," ["The Golden Anniversary Chronicles of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] 19; Wong, "The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong," 119.

Baptist Association, immediately requested the government to provide a piece of land at Ho Man Tin for building houses for the victims. With the sponsorship of the Southern Baptists, a sum of HK\$30,000 for the construction fee was raised, and the Brotherly Love Village was completed on November 26 of the same year. Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary was founded by the Association in February 1951.¹¹ In the annual meeting of 1952, the boards of theology (theological education), education, medicine, and women's work were established. Afterwards, the board of education was divided into three boards: higher education, middle education, and primary education.¹² The proposal to found First Baptist Primary School at the Brotherly Love Village was passed in the monthly meeting on March 16, 1952.¹³ In the Baptist Convention's annual meeting of 1955, a resolution was passed to the establishment of a Baptist tertiary institution, to be named Hong Kong Baptist College. Before the completion of the campus in 1966, the classes were held at Pui Ching Middle School. A Baptist clinic was set up at Waterloo Road in January 1956. A three-week city-wide evangelism campaign was launched in November of the same year, with the number of converts numbering more than 2,600. The Baptist Association took over the management of Pui Ching Middle School, Pooi To Girls' Middle School in October 1957 and Macao Pui Ching Middle School two months later at the request of the boards of trustees of the schools.¹⁴ During this decade, 25 chapels were established and nine chapels became independent churches.¹⁵

The Third Decade (1958-1967) – City-wide evangelistic meetings were held in different districts, from April 21 to May 18, 1963, with some 1,900 people becoming Christians.¹⁶ After Baptist acquired land at Waterloo Road from the government, the

¹¹ "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershi Zhounian Lishi," ["A Twenty-year History of The Baptist Association of Hong Kong"] 4-5; "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Nianzhi," ["The Golden Anniversary Chronicles of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] 19.

¹² "Xinaggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Sanshinian Jianshi," ["A Brief Thirty-year History of The Baptist Association of Hong Kong"] 15.

¹³ Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II*, 8; "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershi Zhounian Lishi," ["A Twenty-year History of The Baptist Association of Hong Kong"] 6.

¹⁴ Pang, "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Jianshi," ["A Brief History of the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] 17; "Xinaggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Sanshinian Jianshi," ["A Brief Thirty-year History of The Baptist Association of Hong Kong"] 15; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II*, 8.

¹⁵ Pang, "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Jianshi," ["A Brief History of the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] 16; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II*, 6-7.

¹⁶ "Xuanjiao: Chuan Dao Bu," ["Mission – Board of Evangelism"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Sishijie Nianhui Te Kan* [Special Issue for the Fortieth Annual Meeting of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1979), 13;

ground breaking ceremony for the construction of Hong Kong Baptist Hospital was held on April 21, 1959 and the project was completed in 1963. The opening ceremony was held on July 1, 1963, at which time the clinic at Waterloo Road was closed.¹⁷ The construction of the new campus of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary at Ho Man Tin Hill Road was completed in April of the same year, and the dedication service was held on May 18, 1963.¹⁸ In September 1963, a piece of farmland, some 500,000 sq. feet in size, at Fan Ling, the New Territories, was purchased for the purpose of building a retreat camp site for Baptists. The camp site, named The Baptist Assembly, opened on August 25, 1965. In November, 1963, a ten-day discipleship training course entitled "The Stewardship" was conducted for the Baptist community. On May 5, 1966, the permanent campus of Hong Kong Baptist College was completed at Waterloo Road on a piece of land acquired from the government. On November 1965, Chan Wing-yip was sent by the Baptist Association to Malaysia, as the second missionary of the Baptist Association. In October 1966, a social service centre was founded in a resettlement estate at Tse Wan Shan to provide a day care nursery centre, a library, and a study-room for the people in that grass-roots neighbourhood.¹⁹ In July 1967, the Rev. Wong Chung was sent to Malaysia as a missionary administrator for the Baptist Convention of the region and a pastor in-charge of a local church.²⁰ During this period, 14 new chapels were founded and 19 chapels became independent churches.²¹

The Fourth Decade (1968-1977) – In April 1968, another missionary, David Shaw, fulfilled his commitment to the mission to Vietnam despite the raging of the

"*Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Nianzhi*" ["The Golden Anniversary Chronicles of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"], 22.

¹⁷ Pang, "*Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Jianshi*," ["A Brief History of the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] 17; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II*, 9-10; "*Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Nianzhi*," ["The Golden Anniversary Chronicles of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] 20.

¹⁸ *Pictorial Chronicles of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary 1951-2001* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, 2001), 47; Carter Morgan, *An Informal History of the Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, 1951-2000* (Westminster, SC: Unpublished manuscript, n.d.), 20.

¹⁹ Pang, "*Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Jianshi*," ["A Brief History of the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] 17; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II*, 10-11; "*Xuanjiao: Chuan Dao Bu*," ["Mission – Board of Evangelism"] 13.

²⁰ "*Xinagang Jinxinhui Lianhui Sanshinian Jianshi*," ["A Brief Thirty-year History of The Baptist Association of Hong Kong"] 16; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II*, 11; "*Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Nianzhi*" ["The Golden Anniversary Chronicles of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"], 22.

²¹ Pang, "*Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Jianshi*," ["A Brief History of the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] 17; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II*, 9.

Vietnam War.²² In November 1969, an eight-month city-wide evangelism campaign, known as the “Hong Kong Evangelism Campaign” with the theme of “Christ – Assurance of Life,” was launched. During this period, two centralised evangelism meetings and several district evangelism meetings were held. Fifty-nine churches and chapels were mobilised to join the campaign and some 1,500 people were converted to Christ.²³ The Hong Kong Baptist Education Association (HKBEA) was established in 1972 to replace the Baptist Association as manager of Pui Oi Primary School (formerly The First Baptist Primary School).²⁴ Another five-year evangelism campaign, known as “Reconciling with God,” started in 1972. The Baptist Convention provided member churches with the necessary training for planning, evangelizing and discipleship training.²⁵ The Overseas Mission Committee was set up in 1972 and became The Overseas Mission Board in 1974. From 1972 through 1978, the mission undertakings included financial sponsorship to the churches in Southeast Asia and to eleven missionaries, appointed for both long and short terms, to be sent to areas such as Vietnam, Brunei, East Malaysia, and Macao.²⁶ In July 1975, Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School and Hong Kong Pui To Girls’ Middle School became government subsidised schools.²⁷

The Fifth Decade (1978-1987) – Baptist Liu Ming-choi Secondary School was founded in 1978 and became a government subsidised school in 1982. In the same year, Baptist Liu Ming-choi Primary School, another government subsidised school, was established from the former Pui Oi School.²⁸ “Hong Kong to Christ” was a two-year evangelism project started in 1977; this was part of the global program of “Big Cities Evangelism,” carried out by the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. The closing program was a seven-day city-wide evangelism

²² “Xinaggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Sanshinian Jianshi,” [“A Brief Thirty-year History of The Baptist Association of Hong Kong”] 16; Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches: Vol. II*, 11.

²³ “Xuanjiao: Chuan Dao Bu,” [“Mission – Board of Evangelism”] 14; “Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Nianzhi” [“The Golden Anniversary Chronicles of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong”] 22.

²⁴ “Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Nianzhi” [“The Golden Anniversary Chronicles of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong”] 23.

²⁵ “Xuanjiao: Chuan Dao Bu,” [“Mission – Board of Evangelism”] 14.

²⁶ “Xuanjiao: Hai Wai Chuan Dao Bu,” [“Mission – Overseas Mission Board”] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Sishijie Nianhui Te Kan* [Special Issue for the Fortieth Annual Meeting of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1979), 15-17.

²⁷ “Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Nianzhi,” [“The Golden Anniversary Chronicles of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong”] 23.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

campaign held in November 1978, with more than 3,000 people converted to Christ.²⁹ In 1980, the Publishing Board of the Baptist Convention became an independent institution under the new name, Baptist Press. The Annual Baptist Revival Meeting was organised in March 1983. Baptist Rainbow Primary School, founded in 1984, was the fifth Baptist school to accept a governmental subsidy. A series of events for celebrating the 150th Anniversary of Baptists in China was held on October 20 through 30, 1986.³⁰

In summary, the statistics of the Baptist Convention in 1987 shows the following: membership was 36,618, and the number of churches and chapels were 51 and 27, respectively. 27 educational institutions were founded, including a seminary and a university, 6 secondary schools, 4 primary schools and 15 kindergartens, and 5 para-church organisations: a hospital, a publishing house, a camp site, a nursery, and a library, were affiliated with the Baptist Convention.³¹

In short, the institutions mentioned above can be classified into two categories: evangelism and social ministry. Concerning the ministry of evangelism, the unceasing church planting projects and several city-wide evangelism campaigns were the core approaches to evangelism efforts from the 1960s through the 1980s. These efforts made Baptists the fastest-growing Christian community in Hong Kong. Regarding the social ministry, the construction of the Brotherly Love Village for the fire victims in 1950, the establishment of the Baptist seminary in 1951 and the Baptist primary school in 1952 in the Brotherly Love Village, the Baptist clinic in 1956 and the Baptist hospital in 1963, the Baptist college in 1966, and several primary and secondary schools from the 1930s to the 1980s were the most notable projects drawing Hong Kong society's attention to the contribution of Baptists. Without doubt, Baptists had a tremendous social impact on the colony. Therefore, the establishment of so many institutions strengthened the social status of the Baptist community in the territory to a significant

²⁹ "Xuanjiao: Xianggang gui Zhu Yundong," ["Mission – Hong Kong to Christ Campaign"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Sishijie Nianhui Te Kan* [Special Issue for the Fortieth Annual Meeting of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1979), 17-19.

³⁰ Pang, "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Jianshi," ["A Brief History of the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] 18; "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Nianzhi" ["The Golden Anniversary Chronicles of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] 23-24.

³¹ Data taken from "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Huiyou Ji Chengyuan Zengzhang Tongjitu," ["Statistics of Membership of the Baptist Churches and Church Growth"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Te Kan 1938-1988* [Special Memorial Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong), 1989, 111-12.

degree. It should be pointed out that the abundant back-up of finances and personnel of the Southern Baptist was a major factor in the successful take-off of Hong Kong Baptists' ministry.

Baptist Polity –

Organisational Structure and Composition of Leadership

According to Baptist polity of Hong Kong, the General Meeting and the Committee of Management (renamed the Executive Board and the Council in the amendments of 1965 and 1973, respectively) of the Baptist Convention are the two decision-making bodies. They represent the supreme authority of the Convention. Of the two groups, the former only holds the Annual General Meeting (AGM), while the latter holds monthly meetings. The boards (departments) are the units responsible for planning and implementing the ministry projects of the Convention.

The General Meeting – In the Memorandum and Articles of Association (M&A) of 1951, the qualifications of persons entitled to be present at a General Meeting included pastors of the churches; secondly, the principals of the Baptist schools, such as Pui Ching Middle School and Pooi To Middle School; and finally, church representatives, whose number are determined by the size of the membership of churches. The proportion is 1:25, not to exceed a total of 25 messengers for each church.³² The qualifications for membership for the General Meeting were amended twice between 1951 and 1973. In the amendment of 1965, the clause, “the principals of the independent organizations such as Pui Ching Middle School and Pui To Middle School”³³ was replaced by “all members of the Executive Board.”³⁴ However, this alteration was later eliminated. In the amendment of 1973, the qualifications were that membership would include a church's pastor in-charge and other representatives from a church based on a ratio between membership and representative, lowered from 25:1 to 15:1. The maximum number of representatives of the church was raised from twenty-five to sixty, inclusive of the church's pastor in-charge.³⁵

³² *Memorandum and Articles of Association of The United HongKong Christian Baptist Churches Association* (Incorporated the 25th day of April 1951), 13, clause 14.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Memorandum and Articles of Association of The United HongKong Christian Baptist Churches Association* (Incorporated the 25th day of April 1951) (Amended the 28th day of May 1955, the 15th day of March 1958, and the 7th day of September 1965) (Hong Kong: Hastings & Company 1951, 1955 & 1958, Deacons & Company 1965), 11-12, clause 14.

³⁵ *Memorandum and Articles of Association of The United HongKong Christian Baptist Churches*

The Council (formerly the Committee of Management and the Executive Board in the M&A of 1951 and the M&A of 1965, respectively) – Since the Committee of Management met monthly, it was responsible for the daily operations of the Baptist Association. At the early stage of the Association, the Committee of Management consisted of three types of members: firstly, the pastor in-charge of the church; secondly, the principal or person in charge of the independent organisation affiliated with the Association, such as Principal of Pui Ching Middle School, Pui To Middle School, and Director of Baptist Press; and finally, “one extra representative of each church to be elected by and from five of the extra representatives of such church.”³⁶ In the amendment of 1965, there were two alternations: firstly, the eligibility of the principal or person in charge of the independent organisation affiliated with the Association was cancelled; and secondly, if a Baptist church does not have five representatives, one person may be appointed for any fraction of the five representatives.³⁷ A chairperson, a vice-chairperson, a secretary, and a treasurer were to be elected from among the committee members. The Committee of Management (renamed the Executive Board in 1965) might appoint certain members to form sub-committees or departments to take charge of the affairs of the Association.³⁸ In the absence of the chairperson of the committee or, in his/her absence, the vice-chairperson would preside as chairperson at every general meeting of the Association.³⁹ In other words, the chairperson of the committee would actually be the chairperson of the Association and the other three officers of the committee would be the equivalent officers of the Association.

This kind of practice lasted until 1973 when reform in the organisational structure was introduced. As a result of the reform, all the officers of the Convention and members of the departments (boards) began to be elected in the AGM. Officers were

Association (Incorporated the 25th day of April 1951) (Amended the 28th day of May 1955, the 15th day of March 1958, and the 7th day of September 1965, and the 4th day of December 1973) (Hong Kong: Hastings & Company 1951, 1955 & 1958, Deacons & Company 1965, Tso & Company 1973), 17-18, clause 14.

³⁶ *Memorandum and Articles of Association of The United HongKong Christian Baptist Churches Association* (Incorporated the 25th day of April 1951), 15-16, clause 24.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Memorandum and Articles of Association of The United HongKong Christian Baptist Churches Association* (Incorporated the 25th day of April 1951), 15-16, clauses 25, 26; *Memorandum and Articles of Association of The United HongKong Christian Baptist Churches Association* (Incorporated the 25th day of April 1951) (Amended the 28th day of May 1955, the 15th day of March 1958, and the 7th day of September 1965), 14, clauses 25, 26.

³⁹ *Memorandum and Articles of Association of The United HongKong Christian Baptist Churches Association* (Incorporated the 25th day of April 1951), 14, clause 18.

to be elected from among members of the Council (formerly named the Committee of Management and the Executive Board).⁴⁰

The Boards (formerly the Sub-committees in the M&A of 1951 and the Committees in the M&A of 1965) – The boards (departments) of the Convention are the implementation arms of its ministries. At the time of the twentieth anniversary of the Convention (1938-1957), the eleven committees (departments or boards) and the year of their establishment were as follows: the Literature Committee (1938), the Benevolence Committee (1939), the Evangelistic Committee (1940), the Young People's Committee (1949), the Seminary Board of Trustees (1951), the Medical Board (1952), the Women's Committee (1952), the Sunday School Committee (1953), the Primary School Board of Trustees (1955), the College Board of Trustees (1957), the Scholarship Committee (1957).⁴¹ In the thirtieth anniversary (1938-1967), two boards were set up: the Secondary School Board (1958)⁴² and the Training Union Board (1959 – formerly the Young People's Committee).⁴³ The Benevolent Board was renamed the Welfare Board in 1966.⁴⁴ Two more committees were established: the Baptist Assembly Board (1963), and the Finance Board (1966).⁴⁵ In the fortieth anniversary (1938-1977), there was structural reshuffle of the implementation arms: the Music Board was created in 1969, but it merged with Sunday School Board in

⁴⁰ *Memorandum and Articles of Association of The United HongKong Christian Baptist Churches Association* (Incorporated the 25th day of April 1951) (Amended the 28th day of May 1955, the 15th day of March 1958, and the 7th day of September 1965, and the 4th day of December 1973), 25, 26, 28, clauses 38, 39, 45.

⁴¹ Frank, "Twenty Years History of The Hong Kong Baptist Association," 1-7.

⁴² "Jiao Yu: Zhong Deng Jiao Yu Bu," ["Education – Secondary Education Board"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Sishijie Nianhui Te Kan* [Special Issue for the Fortieth Annual Meeting of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1979), 32-39.

⁴³ "Zongjiao Jiao Yu: Zhu Dao Bu," ["Christian Education – Training Union Board"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Sishijie Nianhui Te Kan* [Special Issue for the Fortieth Annual Meeting of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1979), 22-24.

⁴⁴ "Fu Li Shigong: Fu Li Bu," ["Welfare Ministry – Welfare Board"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Sishijie Nianhui Te Kan* [Special Issue for the Fortieth Annual Meeting of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1979), 42-43.

⁴⁵ Yu Ping-kong, "Jinhuiyuen De Fazhan," ["The Development of The Baptist Assembly"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Te Kan 1938-1988* [Special Memorial Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1989), 104-05; "Cai Wu Weiyuanhui Ban Shi Xize," ["Bylaw of The Finance Committee"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Te Kan 1938-1988* [Special Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1989), 126-27..

1975 to become the Christian Education Board,⁴⁶ and the Foreign Mission Board was founded in 1974.⁴⁷ In the fiftieth anniversary (1938-1987), the following eleven boards and a committee were responsible for operating the ministry of the Convention: the Evangelism Board, the Foreign Mission Board, the Seminary Board, the Training Union Board, the Music Board, the Sunday School Board, the Publication Board (formerly the Literature Board), the Tertiary Education Board, the Secondary Education Board, the Medical Board, Welfare Board, and Baptist Assembly Committee.⁴⁸

The Executive Committee of the Council – Although the Council shall be the supreme authority of the Convention while general meetings are not being held,⁴⁹ the Executive Committee is responsible for the day-to-day operations and management of the Convention. Its responsibilities include such things as setting the agenda for the Council, overseeing the process of policy-making and policy-implementation of all the departments (boards), and coordinating ministries among the departments, based upon the advice of the joint-session of the Executive Committee and the Heads of the Boards, the so called Joint Committee, which is to meet every month or at any additional times the President considers necessary. The membership of the Executive Committee includes the President, the Vice President, the Secretary, the Treasurer, the Auditor, the Executive Secretary (paid staff), and the Vice Executive Secretary (paid staff).⁵⁰ Thus, the Executive Committee can be regarded as the master mind of the Convention, responsible for setting the objectives and direction of the Baptist community.

⁴⁶ “Zongjiao Jiao Yu: Zongjiao Jiao Yu Bu,” [“Christian Education – Christian Education Board”] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Sishijie Nianhui Te Kan* [Special Issue for the Fortieth Annual Meeting of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1979), 24-26.

⁴⁷ “Xuanjiao: Hai Wai Chuan Dao Bu,” [“Mission – Foreign Mission Board”] 15-17.

⁴⁸ “Yi Jiu Ba Ba Nian Du (Di Si Shi Jiu Jie) Changwu Weiyuan Ji Ge Buzhang,” [“Name List of the Standing Committee’s Members, Elected in 1988”] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Te Kan 1938-1988* [Special Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1989), 26. Christian Education Board was cancelled so that Music Board and Sunday School Board became the independent boards again.

⁴⁹ *Memorandum and Articles of Association of The United HongKong Christian Baptist Churches Association* (Incorporated the 25th day of April 1951) (Amended the 28th day of May 1955, the 15th day of March 1958, and the 7th day of September 1965, and the 4th day of December 1973), 26, clause 40 (a).

⁵⁰ “Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ban Shi Xize,” [“Bylaw of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong”] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Te Kan 1938-1988* [Special Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1989), 125, clause V.

From the above analysis, it is easy to notice that, due to the principles of Baptist polity, the majority of representatives of General Meeting would always be laity. Since the laity is the majority, the Council (formerly the Committee of Management and the Executive Board) and the boards (formerly the Sub-committees and the Committees) are also very likely to be composed of the laity. In other words, the group of pastors, both local pastors and missionaries, are likely to be a minority and the laity is likely to be a majority, according to Baptist polity. The result is that the laity inevitably becomes the dominant force in the decision-making level.

Composition of the Leadership

From 1938 to 1973, the Baptist Convention was led by a chairperson. From 1974 and to the present, the Convention's chief officer has been the president. As stated above, the incumbents of the chairperson or president are the key figures of the Baptist community in Hong Kong. To understand the effects of local Baptist polity, we need to scrutinize closely the composition of the top leadership of the Baptist Convention from 1938 to 1984 in order to discover some significant facts about their church membership and positions in their churches.

In the analysis of the incumbency of chairpersons and presidents, the following observations can be made: Firstly, there were only seven years in which the Convention was led by persons serving as pastors of churches, representing only 16.28% of the top leaders: the remainder of the thirty-six years the Convention were led by deacons. These statistics support the claim that the Convention was usually led by the laity, who by and large lacked formal theological training. Secondly, all the incumbents were the representatives of three largest Baptist churches: Hong Kong Baptist Church, Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church, and Kowloon City Baptist Church. They were either the pastor in-charge or a deacon of one of these churches. Finally, during this span of forty-seven years, Lam Chi-fung, a deacon of Kowloon City Baptist Church, served from 1941 through 1970, by far the longest period of leadership. In fact, Lam led the Convention for a total of twenty-six years, excluding the four year period between 1942 and 1945 in which the Japanese occupied the territory.⁵¹

⁵¹ "Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Lijie Zhuxi, Fu Zhuxi, Huizhang, Fu Juizhang Ji Zong Ganshi," ["Names of the Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, President, Vice President, and General Secretary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong"] in *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Jinxi Te Kan 1938-1988* [Special

From the analysis of the incumbency of vice chairpersons and vice presidents, three conclusions can be drawn: Firstly, comparatively, there were more pastors than laity serving in the position. Secondly, before 1975, most of the incumbents came from the three largest Baptist churches. Thirdly, after 1975, there was a shift when most of the incumbents began to come from other Baptist churches.⁵²

In summary, the most notable remarks regarding the composition of the Convention's leadership, in terms of church membership and theological training of the incumbent chairperson/president and vice chairperson/vice presidents can be recapitulated as follows: Firstly, Lam Chi-fung was without doubt the most influential and powerful Baptist leader after World War II. Secondly, the leadership of the Baptist community was mostly comprised of representatives of the three largest Baptist churches, particularly before 1974. Finally, the group of pastors usually seemed to be overpowered by the laity in the decision-making process, as they were outnumbered by the laity in the key positions.

An Overview of the Worship Services of the Three Largest Baptist Churches 1950 – 1984

The policies of a denominational body concerning ministries reveal much about its leaders' theological understandings of the issues. Thus, investigating the spiritual and theological formation of the Baptist leaders can be a means of understanding the rationale behind their stands on certain issues. It would be useful to find out how much the Baptist axiom of church-state separation had been a part of the Convention leaders' spiritual formation. Thus, the Convention leaders' rationale for accepting land grants and government subsidies for the Baptist institutions may reflect their understandings of the church-state relationships. This understanding would have in large part come from their experience in their churches' worship services.

Methodology

In an effort to scrutinize the Convention leaders' spiritual and theological formation, this study will first seek to examine the worship services of the three

Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1989), 108-10. For details, see Table 4 in the Appendix.

⁵² Ibid. For details, see Table 5 in the Appendix of this dissertation.

largest churches to discover teachings regarding church-state practices. The initial step in unveiling this relationship is to examine the essential teaching on church-state separation in the Sunday worship service. The following facets of the Sunday worship services of these churches are surveyed:

- Orders of Sunday worship services
- Topics of sermon, and
- Themes of worship services

The methodology of the study is primarily a documentary survey, but personal interviews, interviews by correspondence, and survey by questionnaire were also employed when the documents proved to be insufficient or incomplete. The Sunday worship programmes of three largest Baptist churches from 1950 through 1984, are examined. Basically, all three churches have good collections of the yearly binder of their weekly bulletins, containing the programmes of Sunday worship service.

Kowloon City Baptist Church has a complete set, from 1950 through 1984. There are a total 12 missing issues in the Hong Kong Baptist Church from the periods of 1950-53, 55-57, 60, 64, 66-68. There are a total of 8 missing issues in the Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church during the periods of 1951-52, 55-56, 58-59, 62, 66. Some of the texts of sermons are collected in the Sunday worship bulletins of the three churches.

Kowloon City Baptist Church has a complete collection of the text of sermons for the whole period. The collection of the texts of sermons of the Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church is incomplete. From 1950 through 1962, there was no text of the sermon for the previous week published in the weekly bulletin. The texts were enclosed every week from 1963 through 1969. The numbers of published texts annually decreased between 1970 and 1974, amounting to 22, 28, 27, 15, and 5, respectively. The text has continued to be absent since 1975. In fact, the text of sermon of the previous week has never been available in the weekly bulletin of Hong Kong Baptist Church. Facing this limitation, an analysis of sermon titles, hymns titles and scripture selections, along with a number of personal interviews, is taken as an approach for identifying the possible content of sermons.

Orders of Sunday Worship Service

As Baptists developed out of the Puritan movement in the seventeenth century England, the early Baptists inherited some of the Puritan concerns for purifying

worship. In particular, “they sought to eliminate the human forms of the established church and to base worship purely on the simple patterns provided by Scripture.” At the same time, “they also sought to involve the congregation in worship and to provide openness for the movement of God’s Spirit.”⁵³ While Baptist worship, as a reaction against formalism and ceremonialism, has traditionally been free and informal; Baptist Sunday morning worship service has developed to become more formal and more strictly planned.⁵⁴ Therefore, the Sunday worship service of Baptists must be “simple” yet “decently in order”; namely, liturgical elements may be freely used, but with no fixed liturgy that “makes it difficult to experience God’s presence” and “no complexity that stands between the laity and God.”⁵⁵

The following are samples of the simplest orders of service provided by the *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists* and the samples of the orders of Sunday worship service of the three largest Baptist churches in Hong Kong.

A Sample of the Simplest Order of Worship Service⁵⁶

Prelude
 Doxology and Invocation
 Choral Response
 Hymn
 Recognition of Visitors
 Scripture and Prayer
 Hymn
 Tithes and Offerings
 Offertory
 Message in Song
 Sermon
 Hymn of Invitation
 Benediction
 Postlude

⁵³ *The Complete Library of Christian Worship, Vol. 2, Twenty Centuries of Christian Worship* (Nashville, Tennessee: Star Song Publishing Group, 1994), s.v. “Baptist Worship,” by G. Thomas Halbrooks, 82.

⁵⁴ *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists*, s.v. “Worship Services, Baptist,” by Gaye L. McGlothlen, 1548-49.

⁵⁵ *The Complete Library of Christian Worship, Vol. 2, Twenty Centuries of Christian Worship* (Nashville, Tennessee: Star Song Publishing Group, 1994), s.v. “A Baptist Theology of Worship,” by G. Thomas Halbrooks, 293.

⁵⁶ *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists*, s.v. “Worship Services, Baptist,” by Gaye L. McGlothlen, 1548.

A Sample of an Order of Worship Service
Kowloon City Baptist Church – March 26, 1950, 11 AM⁵⁷

Silent Prayer
 Contemplation
 Hymn
 Invocation
 Scripture Reading
 Hymn
 Business Report
 Hymn
 Sermon
 Hymn
 Offertory – Sunday Worship & Benevolence
 Prayer for Offertory
 Doxology
 Benediction
 Silent Prayer
 Postlude

A Sample of an Order of Worship Service
Hong Kong Baptist Church – January 13, 1963, 11 AM⁵⁸

Prelude
 Hymn
 Invocation
 Business Report
 Hymn
 Sermon
 Hymn for Offertory
 Prayer for Offertory
 Hymn
 Offertory
 Doxology
 Hymn
 Benediction
 Amen (Praise)
 Postlude

⁵⁷ “Zhu Ri Chongbai Chengxum,” [“Sunday Worship Service Programme”] 26 March 1950, in *Binder of Sunday Worship Service Programme, Kowloon City Baptist Church 1950* (in Chinese), Kowloon City Baptist Church, Hong Kong.

⁵⁸ “Sunday Worship Service Programme, 13 January 1963,” in *Binder of the Weekly and Monthly, Hong Kong Baptist Church 1963* (in Chinese), Hong Kong Baptist Church, Hong Kong.

A Sample of an Order of Worship Service
Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church – January 14, 1973, 11 AM⁵⁹

Hymn
 Contemplation
 Responsive Scripture Reading
 Hymn
 Invocation
 Choral Singing
 Scripture Reading
 Business Report
 Hymn
 Sermon
 Offertory
 Prayer for Offertory
 Doxology
 Benediction
 Amen (Praise)
 Postlude

A Sample of an Order of Worship Service
Hong Kong Baptist Church – January 9, 1983, 11 AM⁶⁰

Prelude
 Call to Worship
 Hymn
 Invocation
 Weekly Scripture
 Responsive Scripture Reading
 Hymn
 Offertory
 Prayer for Offertory
 Hymn
 Scripture Reading
 Sermon
 Hymn
 Business Report
 Doxology
 Benediction
 Amen (Praise)
 Postlude

Judging against the sample provided by the *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists*, the

⁵⁹ "Sunday Worship Service Programme, 14 January 1973," in *Binder of the Weekly*, Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church 1973 (in Chinese), Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church, Hong Kong.

⁶⁰ "Sunday Worship Service Programme, 9 January 1983," in *Binder of the Weekly and Monthly*, Hong Kong Baptist Church 1983 (in Chinese), Hong Kong Baptist Church, Hong Kong.

practice of three Baptist churches in Hong Kong, represented by the samples taken from every decade from the 1950's to 1980's, can be classified as the simplest orders of service. There was no major modification of the orders of Sunday worship service. Basically, these orders of worship were formed by the elements of prayer, hymn singing, scripture reading, the sermon, and the offertory. No images, icons, or other symbols were used in the Sunday worship service.

Topics of Sermon

Christ is the focus of Christian worship as He is the central expression of God's creative and redemptive action. Therefore, a prime facet of Baptist worship is "proclaiming the Good News of God's action in Jesus Christ." This is the reason why preaching is "such an important element in worship because of this emphasis on proclaiming the Good News."⁶¹ Stephen F. Olford points out that there are four aspects of the function of preaching in worship: declaration of God's work, confession of faith, underlying prayer, and the climax of praise. The need of edification was one of the reasons that "the ministry of the Word be included in the worship of the early church."⁶² This is what Paul Rees claims to be "a congregational function" of preaching.⁶³ In other words, preaching is the time for a congregation to be taught. Applying the concept to this study, preaching would be the appropriate time for the congregations of the three largest Baptist church to be taught the principle of church-state separation. Thus, the focus of the following analysis is to learn the proportion of the teaching on church-state separation in Sunday worship service among the three churches. The obvious question which arises is whether the teaching on church-state separation sufficient among the churches?

Hong Kong Baptist Church – In 1938, the Rev. Lau Yuet-shing, the most prominent Baptist pastor in South China in first half of the twentieth century, became the pastor in-charge of Hong Kong Baptist Church.⁶⁴ During the period from 1950 to

⁶¹ *The Complete Library of Christian Worship, Vol. 2*, s.v. "A Baptist Theology of Worship," by G. Thomas Halbrooks, 293.

⁶² Stephen F. Olford, "Restoring the Scriptures to Baptist Worship," *Review and Expositor*, 85, 1 (1988): 26.

⁶³ Paul S. Rees, "The Art of Preaching as an Act of Worship," *Christianity Today*, 7 (May 10, 1963), 22; quoted in Olford, "Restoring the Scriptures to Baptist Worship," 26.

⁶⁴ The Rev. Lau Yuet-shing studied at The Leung Kwong Baptist Seminary, Guangzhou, in 1916. He was hired by Kwong Tung Baptist Church in Shanghai in 1921 and ordained as a pastor in the following year at the age of 28 that made him becoming the youngest Chinese Baptist pastor in China. From 1929 to 1932, he took a three-year leave from the church in Shanghai and served at Oakland

1984, Hong Kong Baptist Church was led by four pastors, the Rev. Lau Yuet-shing (1938 – 1957), the Rev. Paul Y. K. Wong (1958 – 1976), the Rev. Lo Man-yam (1977 – 1979), the Rev. Lau Siu-hong Timothy (1979 –).⁶⁵

Due to the lack of weekly and monthly binders in the 1950s and the lack of the published text of the previous week sermon in the Sunday worship service programmes, a feasible and reliable approach to collecting information about sermons is by interviews. Since the only available source of the Rev. Lau Yuet-shing's sermons is the weekly and monthly binder of 1954 and the collection of his sermons published in 1966, an analysis of the source was carried out. The outcome is that no sermon on church-state issue was likely to have been preached.⁶⁶ Neither does a single address in the collection of the Rev. Lau's sermons concern church-state relations.⁶⁷

In order to remedy the problem of missing data from the incomplete collection of the texts of sermons preached in the church, personal interviews and a survey of questionnaires of sermons were conducted.⁶⁸ Eight church members were interviewed during the period from October 2003 through March 2004. The only criterion for their selection is that the period of their worship life at the church had been within the period from 1950 through 1984. The interviewees are classified into five different groups, depending on when they started attending the worship services of the church during the period from the 1930s to 1970s: for the 1940's there were two interviewees, for the 1950's there were four interviewees, and for the 1960s and 1970's there was one interviewee for each decade. The question asked was: Did you ever hear any sermon on church-state separation in Sunday worship service at Hong Kong Baptist Church during the period from 1950 through 1984? And the choices

Chinese Baptist Church in San Francisco, California. Afterwards, he returned to China in January 1932 and became the pastor in-charge of Tung Shan Baptist Church in Canton, the largest Baptist Church in South China. Later, he was elected as the chairperson of numerous Baptist and Protestant organisations, including National Baptist United Convention, Canton Protestant Association, etc. In 1936, he was appointed as the chairperson of China Baptist Centennial Anniversary Committee. For details, see Lee Kam-keung, *Independence and Concerns: A Hundred-Year History of Hong Kong Baptist Church 1901-2001* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, Hong Kong, 2002), 92-103.

⁶⁵ Lee, *Independence and Concerns*, 92-169.

⁶⁶ Xianggang Jinxinjiashui Zhou Kan Ye Kan [Hong Kong Baptist Church Weekly and Monthly Binder 1954] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1955).

⁶⁷ Lau Yuet-shing, *A Collection of the Rev. Lau Yuet-shing's Sermons*, ed. Rev. Princeton S. Hsu (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1966).

⁶⁸ The survey was conducted by personal interview and questionnaire survey during the period of March 1 to April 2, 2004. The earliest date of attending Sunday worship service among the interviewees was the 1940s. They included present pastors of Hong Kong Baptist Church and deacons of the church who grew up at Hong Kong Baptist Church since the 1940s.

of response are the following: "Yes," "No," "Cannot Remember/Not Sure."⁶⁹

The findings show a range of variety. It seems unlikely that the Rev. Lau Yuet-shing preach on the subject of church-state separation in Sunday worship service. In fact, at least three interviewees clearly stated that the Rev. Lau Yuet-shing did not preach on the topic. One of them even elaborated that the Rev. Lau Yuet-shing never mentioned politics in the church or in daily life. The Rev. Lau Siu-hong Timothy, the present pastor in-charge of Hong Kong Baptist Church and son of the Rev. Lau Yuet-shing, said that he could not recall his father's sermons, but did not think his father would have preached on the topic of church-state relations in Sunday worship services at that time.⁷⁰

All the interviewees heard the preaching of the Rev. Paul Y. K. Wong and all except one did not recall hearing preaching on the issue of church-state separation by the Rev. Wong. For instance, the Rev. Lau Siu-hong grew up in Hong Kong Baptist Church during the Rev. Paul Y. K. Wong's incumbency.⁷¹ The Rev. Lau said that the Rev. Wong might have preached this topic in Sunday worship more frequently, since he seemed to have a keen interest in the church-state issue.⁷² However, the Rev. Wong's personal response fell short of the Rev. Lau's expectation. He said that he seldom preached on a topic related to social and political issues in the morning worship services.⁷³ As quite a few interviewees claimed the Rev. Wong had preached on the subject of church-state separation, it is possible that he had preached on the subject a few times, but without any regularity.

Concerning his own preaching, the Rev. Lau Siu-hong admitted that he had tended to neglect the issue of church-state during the early stage of his ministry at Hong Kong Baptist Church. Nevertheless, he did deal with the issue in a passive way. In the mid-1984's, he delivered a series of ten consecutive sermons on church-state relations in response to the social and political instability in Hong Kong at the time of the Sino-British negotiations on the future of Hong Kong.⁷⁴ It was a

⁶⁹ For a breakdown of the findings, see Table 6 in the Appendix of this dissertation.

⁷⁰ Lau Siu-hong, interview by author, tape recording, Hong Kong Baptist Church, Hong Kong, 20 November 2003 (in Chinese).

⁷¹ The Rev. Paul Y. K. Wong was the chairperson of The Baptist Association of Hong Kong in 1971 and the Rev. Lau Siu-hong was a 3-times president of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, from 1991-93. See *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Liushi Zhounian Jinian Te Kan* [Special Issue for the Sixtieth Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1998].

⁷² Lau Siu-hong, interview by author, 20 November 2003.

⁷³ Paul Yat-keung Wong to author (in Chinese), 23 October 2003.

⁷⁴ Lau Siu-hong, interview by author, 20 November 2003.

series of topical preaching⁷⁵ with the basic theme derived from the book, *The Convictions Held by Christians in Hong Kong in the Midst of Contemporary Social and Political Change*.⁷⁶ The topics of his sermons were “*Shen Fen*” (“The Identity”), “*Wo Men Zai Tian Shang De Fu*” (“Our Father in Heaven”), “*Jiao Hui De Shi Ming*” (“The Missions of the Church”), “*Jiao Hui De Tiao Zhan*” (“The Challenges of the Church”), “*Bo Xing De Ai Sheng*” (“The Cry of the People”), “*Xiang Shui Xiao Zhong?*” (“Be Loyal to Whom?”), “*Quan Ren De Quan Hua*” (“Holistic Caring”), “*Ye He Hua Shi Wo De Jing Qi*” (“The Lord is My Banner”), “*He Er Wei Yi*” (“Unity in One”), and “*Wo De Xin Nian*” (“My Convictions”).⁷⁷ The purpose of the series was to help the members to revise and reaffirm their Christian faith, to explore the responsibilities of Christians in the midst of the change of that era, and to face the impact caused by the issue of 1997, such as the fear of communism and the massive emergence of immigration among Christians.⁷⁸ In fact, the delivery of this series of sermons might be the only time when the matter of church-state relations was ever addressed in the church since 1950. However, only the sermon in the series addressing the church-state relations directly was “*Xiang Shui Xiao Zhong?*” (“Be Loyal to Whom?”) on Mark 12:13-17, and the message focused on the issue of paying taxes. The gist of the other sermons was not necessarily pertinent to the principle of church-state separation.

Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church – During the period from 1950 through 1984, the pastors in-charge of the church were as follows: the Rev. Auyeung Hing-cheung, (1949 – 1957), the Rev. Chung Yan-kwong (1957 – 1961), the Rev. Princeton S. Hsu, (1962 – 1966) and the Rev. Stephen C. K. Liu (1966 – 1996).⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Lau Siu-hong, “*Jiang Tan Xia*,” [“From the Pulpit”] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church) 20 May 1984.

⁷⁶ During the Sino-British negotiations on the future of Hong Kong approaching its final stage, twenty-seven of the most prominent Protestant pastors and heads of para-church groups in Hong Kong gathered on March 12, 1984 to discuss the issues of the historic change and its affects on the mission of the church. They came to a consensus that there was a need to draft a statement of convictions of faith, which was to serve as a guidance of witness for the Christians in Hong Kong. The Convictions was passed on April 16, 1984, and the Rev. Lau Siu-hong was one of the drafters. For details, see Carven T. Yu, *The Convictions Held by Christians in Hong Kong in the Midst of Contemporary Social and Political Change*, rev. edition (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Fellowship of Evangelical Students, 1984), 5.

⁷⁷ The sermons were delivered in a period of ten weeks, from June 10 to August 12, before the release of a draft of the Sino-British agreement on the future of Hong Kong on September 26, 1984. See *Hong Kong Baptist Church Weekly* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) vol. 37, issues 24 - 33 (1984).

⁷⁸ Lau Siu-hong, interview by author, 20 November 2003; Lau Siu-hong, “From the Pulpit,” 20 May 1984.

⁷⁹ “*Jianshazui Jinxinhui Wushi Nian Dashi Ji*,” [“A Fifty-Year Chronicles of Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church”] 10-13

After reviewing the worship service programmes from 1950 through 1984, only one sermon was found to be socially related. Even this sermon was not politically related or explicitly about church-state separation. This sermon, entitled "Teaching and Education," on Matthew 4: 23-24, was preached by the Rev. Paul Y. K. Wong, a guest speaker, on July 25, 1971. In the sermon, the Rev. Wong pointed out the internal and external difficulties in running schools by church organisations. The former included the maintenance of the initial objectives of the establishment and the qualities of Christian teachers. The latter referred to the pressure and expectation from society and the challenge of the rise of government schools.⁸⁰ Actually, his message was similar, but more implicit, to the arguments presented in his interview with *Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Yue Kan* (*Hong Kong Baptist Association Monthly*) in July 1971, the official monthly of the denomination. His sermon touched on two main issues: the principle of church-state separation and the formation and operations of the new education organisation of Baptists.⁸¹ In an interview in 1971, the Rev. Wong elucidates on the dilemma that the Baptist Association faces: "In contemporary society, education is dominated by the public school system and it is unlikely [for the non-government organisations] to run good private schools. Thus, there is a strident voice of church members that they want to run subsidised schools. For the time being, a compromise is that [we] do not passively try to suppress the idea of running subsidized schools, but actively find a way out."⁸² Interestingly, the Rev. Wong somehow never preached the same sermon at Hong Kong Baptist Church.

As the collection of the texts of sermon of the church is incomplete, there is a need to find a more complete picture of the content of sermon by personal interviews and surveys by questionnaire. The methodology and rationale are the same as those used in the survey conducted at Hong Kong Baptist Church. Thirteen church members were interviewed during the period from October 2003 through March 2004. The only criterion for their selection is that the period of their worship life at the church has been within the period from 1950 through 1984. They are classified into five different groups, depending on when they started attending the worship service of

⁸⁰ Paul Y. K. Wong, "Jiaodao Yu Jiaoyu," ["Teaching and Education"] *Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church Weekly* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 1 August 1971, 6-8.

⁸¹ Editorial Staff, "Wei 'Diyijia Xuesiao': Fangwen Xiangang Jinxinhui Lianhui Zhuxi Huang Ri Qiang Mushu," ["Interview the Rev. Wong Yat-keung Paul, Chairperson of The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association, for the 'First Subsidised School'"] 1-2.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 2.

the church within the period from the 1930s to 1970s. Although the 1930s period had only one interviewee, the periods of the 1950s, the 1960s, and the 1970s had four interviewees each. The interviewees were asked this question: Did you ever hear any sermon on church-state separation in Sunday worship service at Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church during the period from 1950 through 1984? And the choices of response are the following: "Yes," "No," "Cannot Remember/Not Sure." The outcome is that none of them chose the answer "yes." It means that none of them is able to recall any preaching on church-state relationship in Sunday worship service since the 1950s.⁸³ As sermons on church-state relationship seemed to be a very rare topic, members of a congregation would likely have been impressed if such a sermon had been preached.

In addition to interviews, an analysis of the sermon topics and scripture reading at Tsim Sha Tsui was made. The evidence is that it is unlikely that sermons preached during the release of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984 addressed the issue of political changes.⁸⁴

Kowloon City Baptist Church – From 1950 to 1984, the church under the leadership of five pastors: the Rev. Chang Yau-kwong Daniel (1949 – 1959, 1966 – 1981), the Rev. Auyeung Hing-cheung (1961), the Rev. Cheung Chi-shun (1961 – 1965) and the Rev. Cheung Mo-oi James (1984 –).⁸⁵

Among the three churches studied, Kowloon City Baptist Church was found to have the most complete collection of Sunday worship service programmes and sermon texts. During the period from 1950 to 1984, a total of fifteen sermons can be classified as socially and politically related. These sermons can be sub-classified into three time periods: The first time period, from the 1950s and 1960s, is composed of four sermons on Baptist faith and Christian responsibility. Interestingly, they were delivered by lay-leaders, Lam Chi-fung, and Franklin Liu. Among the sermons, the axiom of religious liberty was included in Liu's sermon, entitled "*Shijie*

⁸³ The survey was conducted by personal interview and questionnaire survey during the period of 2003 to 2004. All of them attended Sunday worship service since the 1950s and 1960s. They include present pastors of Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church and other Baptist churches in Hong Kong, faculty members of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, and chaplain of Hong Kong Baptist Hospital, who grew up at Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church since the 1960s. The rest are deacons and members of the boards of the church. For a breakdown of the findings, see Table 7 in the Appendix of this dissertation.

⁸⁴ See *Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church Weekly Binder 1984* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church, 1985).

⁸⁵ "Hui Shi," ["A History of the Church"] in *Jiulongcheng Jinxinhui Jinxi Jinian Te Kan* [Special Issue for the Golden Anniversary of Kowloon City Baptist Church] 13-19.

Jinlianhui" ("The Baptist World Alliance"). Liu asserted that the whole history of Baptists is a record of fighting for religious liberty. He said that Baptists traditionally held that church and state should be separate and added that it is wrong for the churches and pastors to receive grants from the government.⁸⁶ The principle of church-state separation was again presented by Lam Chi-fung in his sermon, "*Jinxinhui Jiben Xinyang*" ("Basic Baptist Faith"), which refers to two essences: the whole Bible and church-state separation. Regarding the church-state issue, Lam used the the Lord's words to Zerubbabel, "Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit," (Zechariah 4:6) as the central theme of the message that Zerubbabel should decline the assistance offered by Cyrus on the reconstruction of the temple in Jerusalem. The implication was that Christians should not accept any governmental aid for the religious purposes.⁸⁷ Lam delivered two other sermons, "*Jidutu De Zeren*" ("Christian Responsibilities")⁸⁸ and "*Jidutu De Tian Zhi*" ("Christian Vocation"),⁸⁹ in which the social responsibilities of Christians were again addressed.

The second time period, from 1968 through 1977, includes three sermons dealing with medical and educational ministries. The Rev. Cheung Yau-kwong Daniel, pastor in-charge, preached two of these sermons, "*Yezu De Yiliao Shigong*" ("Medical Ministry of Jesus"),⁹⁰ and "*Jiaohui Yu Jiaoyu*" ("Church and Education").⁹¹ Dr. Daniel C.W. Tse, then President of Hong Kong Baptist College, delivered the third sermon, entitled "*Jidu Hua Gao Deng Jiao Yu*" ("Christianised Higher Education").⁹²

⁸⁶ The sermon was preached on February 5, 1956. Franklin Liu was then Dean of Head of Religious Affairs of Pui Ching Middle School and then Dean of Discipline of Hong Kong Baptist College. See Franklin Liu, "*Shijie Jinlianhui*," ["The Baptist World Alliance"] in *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Worship Service Programme* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 12 February 1956.

⁸⁷ The sermon was preached on March 30, 1969. Dr. Lam Chi-fung was then Chairman of the Baptist Association and then President of Hong Kong Baptist College. See Lam Chi-fung, "*Jinxinhui Jiben Xinyang*" ["Basic Baptist Faith"] in *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Worship Service Programme* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 6 April 1969, 5.

⁸⁸ The sermon was preached on November 30, 1952. See Lam Chi-fung, "*Jidutu De Zeren*" ["Christian Responsibilities"] in *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Worship Service Programme* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 7 December 1952.

⁸⁹ The sermon was preached on June 30, 1968. See Lam Chi-fung, "*Jidutu De Tian Zhi*" ["Christian Vocation"] in *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Worship Service Programme* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 7 July 1968, 6-8.

⁹⁰ The sermon was preached on October 13, 1968. See Cheung Yau-kwong, "*Yezu De Yiliao Shigong*" ["Medical Ministry of Jesus"] in *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Worship Service Programme* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 20 October 1968, 6-8.

⁹¹ The sermon was preached on June 22, 1969. See Cheung Yau-kwong, "*Jiaohui Yu Jiaoyu*" ["Church and Education"] in *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Worship Service Programme* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 29 June 1969, 9-10.

⁹² The sermon was preached on June 26, 1977. See Daniel C. W. Tse, "*Jidu Hua Gao Deng Jiao Yu*" ["Christianised Higher Education"] in *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Worship Service*

The third time period, from 1982 through 1984, comprises a series of eight sermons in response to the issue of the 1997-handover. Six of them were preached by the Rev. Dr. Cheung Mo-oi James, pastor in-charge, and the remaining two were given by the Rev. Lau Siu-hong and Dr. Daniel C. W. Tse. The common theme of these sermons was to build up the congregation in two aspects: firstly, to enhance of the role of the church and its teachings on missions;⁹³ and secondly, to face boldly the uncertainty and possible challenges of the 1997-handover.⁹⁴ It should be noted that during that period no sermon addressed the issue on church-state separation or religious liberty.

Influence of the Missionaries on Preaching – Since one of responsibilities of the Southern Baptist missionaries was to teach at Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary (HKBTS), their understanding of worship would have deeply influenced their students. These students would become pastors responsible for carrying out the practice of worship in the local Baptist churches. Therefore, it would be helpful to study missionaries' sermons on the subject of worship.

The Rev. Victor Frank (1915-2003), one of the seven pioneer Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong, served at HKBTS for 25 years, from 1951 to 1975.⁹⁵ He delivered a sermon on worship in 1954⁹⁶ that can be viewed as typical of missionaries' thoughts regarding worship at that time. Due to his lengthy tenure at the seminary

Programme (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 3 July 1977, 6-8.

⁹³ Cheung Mo-oi James, "Mian Dui Yi Jiu Jui Qi," ["Facing 1997"] (preached on June 20, 1982), in *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Worship Service Programme* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 27 June 1982, 8-9; Cheung Mo-hoi James, "Yi Ji Ba San Nian De Tiao Zhan," ["Challenge of 1983"] (preached on January 2, 1983), in *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Worship Service Programme* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 9 January 1983, 6-7; Cheung Mo-oi James, "Xianggang Jiaohui dong Qian De Jiwu," ["The Urgency of the Church in Hong Kong"] (preached on July 15, 1984), in *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Worship Service Programme* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 22 July 1984, 6-7; and Lau Siu-hong, "Shi Dai De Shiming," ["The Role of Era"] (preached on August 19, 1984), in *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Worship Service Programme* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 26 August 1984, 6-8.

⁹⁴ Cheung Mo-oi James, "Dong Dang Qianjing Zhong De Wangu Panshi," ["The Rock of Ages in the Unstable Future"] (preached on December 5, 1982), in *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Worship Service Programme* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 12 December 1982, 6-7; Cheung Mo-oi James, "Zuo Mentu De Daijia," ["Cost of Discipleship"] (preached on January 1, 1984), in *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Worship Service Programme* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 1 January 1984, 6-7; Daniel C. W. Tse, "Qianjing Bu Ming – Ya Bo Lan De Jingyan," ["The Uncertain Future – Abraham's Experience"] (preached on April 29, 1984), in *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Worship Service Programme* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 5 May 1984, 7-9; and Cheung Mo-oi James, "Zhu Zilai Yu Shenghuo De Nengyuan," ["The Parousia and Energy of Life"] (preached on August 26, 1984), in *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Worship Service Programme* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 2 September 1984, 5-8.

⁹⁵ Carter Morgan, *An Informal History of the Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, 1951-2000*, 38.

⁹⁶ It was preached in the Sunday worship service at Kowloon City Baptist Church on February 7, 1954.

and pulpit ministry in the Baptist community, his concept of worship could be justifiably considered to be a legitimate example of teaching on worship among the local Baptists in that particular context.

In his sermon, “*Na Zhenzheng Bai Fu De Yao Yong Xinling He Chengshi Bai Ta*” (“The True Worshipers will Worship the Father in Spirit and Truth”), the Rev. Frank states that Jesus’ teaching in John 4:23 provides a twofold main theme on worship: you have to serve God only and you should worship God in spirit and truth. It is clear that, accordingly, spirit and truth are the crucial essence in worship, not ritual.⁹⁷ The main purpose of worship is for the congregation’s corporate worship, not for individual worship. If a Christian does not experience true worship, his/her life would be somehow insufficient, no matter how intelligent or well-educated he/she may be. As God is spirit, Christians need to worship God in spirit and in truth.⁹⁸ Several outcomes of worship are mentioned: an intimate relationship with God, a renewal of spiritual strength, a change of character, a unity with other worshippers and service which is pleasing to the Lord.⁹⁹ The contents of worship include: Bible reading, praying, preaching, music, offering, and time of worship on Sunday.¹⁰⁰

In this sermon, three aspects of worship’s characteristics can be observed: firstly, attending public worship is the top priority in the Christian’s life; secondly, the ritual is not the most important issue of worship; and finally, the kind of worship described is quite inward- and individualistic-oriented; namely, worship seems to be domesticated to the holy hours on Sunday and not related to daily life throughout the week.

Within this particular theological and ecclesiological context, it is not surprising to hear the Rev. Paul Y. K. Wong’s defence of his reluctance to preach on church-state issues in Sunday worship service. According to the Rev. Wong, this type of worship practice can be explained by the fact that Baptists are Evangelicals, who are more concerned about sharing the gospel, calling for personal salvation, fostering devotional life, doing missions and Bible study than with teaching social responsibility. There is more individual orientation and less social concern. He

⁹⁷ Victor Frank, “*Na Zhenzheng Bai Fu De Yao Yong Xinling He Chengshi Bai Ta*,” [“The True Worshipers will Worship the Father in Spirit and Truth,”] in *Shi Nian Gu Yu* [Ten Years of Gracious Rain] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Kowloon City Baptist Church, 1963), 35.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 35-36.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 36.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 36-37.

admitted that his way of teaching and preaching, which excluded the church-state issue, was not wholistic, but it was the only model followed in that context.¹⁰¹ It should be noted that the Rev. Wong was a member of the class of 1955, the first class in Bachelor of Divinity programme of the Baptist Seminary.¹⁰² Significantly, he belonged to the very first group of students trained by the Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong. Not surprisingly, the Rev. Wong's practice of worship and preaching seemed to be in agreement with the Rev. Frank's teaching and preaching.

The Rev. Lau Siu-hong, the class of 1976 in Master of Divinity of the seminary¹⁰³ who was trained two decades later than the Rev. Wong, expressed similar considerations regarding the practice of worship and preaching. The Rev. Lau pointed out three reasons why he tended to avoid preaching on the topic of church-state separation at the early stage of his ministry: Firstly, it was difficult to properly handle church-state sermons, and the congregation did not seem ready for this kind of sermon. Secondly, church-state issue was considered to be an "untouchable" or "forbidden" topic in the pulpit at that time, and preachers would be criticized as "not spiritual" if they preached on such a topic. Thirdly, the themes of worship service were mainly concerned with such topics as spiritual discipleship, evangelism, fellowship, offering, love, and sin. The only acceptable social themes were those related to education, medical service, and social service. The situation described by the Rev. Lau not only existed at Hong Kong Baptist Church, but was also a common phenomenon among all the Baptist churches in the territory.¹⁰⁴

From the above opinions expressed by these two prominent Baptist pastors, we can easily observe a dilemma among the Baptist pastors causing them to hesitate to preach on church-state issues. Significantly, it may be a reason why the teaching of church-state issue was absent from Baptists' Sunday worship that made the Baptist congregations being malnourished on the church-state teaching.

Themes of Worship Service

Due to the incomplete collection of the texts of sermons of Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist

¹⁰¹ Paul Yat-keung Wong to author (in Chinese), 23 October 2003.

¹⁰² *Pictorial Chronicles of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary 1951-2001*, 81.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁰⁴ Lau Siu-hong, interview by author, 20 November 2003.

Church and the unavailability of the texts of sermons of Hong Kong Baptist Church in its weekly worship programme, the themes of the worship services needed to be analysed as another supplementary source for exploring the possible content of the sermons.

Based on an analysis of most of the common themes of Sunday worship service of these three Baptist churches from 1950 through 1984 (though probably not inclusive),¹⁰⁵ the following findings emerge: The theme of the worship service of Hong Kong Baptist Church that dealt with political concerns was entitled "*Wei Xianggang Qi Dao*," ("Praying for Hong Kong,") used in the service held on July 29, 1984.¹⁰⁶ Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church and Kowloon City Baptist Church had no such Sunday worship service that could be considered politically related. Apparently, the teaching of church-state separation was not a core concern in these churches, since the topic was never designated as the theme for any Sunday worship service.

Conclusion

In summary, there were a total of twenty-six sermons considered to be socially and politically related, although not necessarily related to church-state separation, during the thirty-five year period (1950- 1984) among the three largest Baptist churches in Hong Kong. Proportionally, these sermons represented only 0.476 % of the 5,460 sermons preached in the thirty-five years studied (1 sermon x 52 weeks x 35 years x 3 churches). More importantly, only two lay-leaders of Kowloon City Baptist Church, explicitly mentioned the principle of church-state separation in their sermons; and only one pastor, the Rev. Lau Siu-hong of Hong Kong Baptist Church, touched upon the church state issue when he delivered a message on paying taxes to Caesar. Proportionally, these three sermons represent only 0.055 % of the total number of sermons for more than three decades. The rest of the sermons were messages of God's faithfulness and sovereignty, God's righteousness and justice, Christians' obedience to God and trust in God, and Christians' witness. While these were undoubtedly important messages for the believers in the midst of political crisis, they did not seem

¹⁰⁵ Data taken from *Hong Kong Baptist Church Weekly and Monthly Binder 1954, 1958, 1959, 1965, 1975, and 1984*; *Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church Weekly 1950, 1953, 1954, 1957, 1960, 1961, 1964, 1969, 1973, 1975, and 1976*. There was no additional theme from 1976 to 1984 in the worship services at Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church; *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Weekly Binder 1953, 1963, 1971, 1973, and 1983*. There was no additional theme in 1984 in the worship services at Kowloon City Baptist Church. For a breakdown of the findings, see Table 8 in the Appendix of this dissertation.

¹⁰⁶ *Hong Kong Baptist Church Weekly* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong) 29 July 1984.

to spell out clearly the principle of church-state separation.

Comparatively, Kowloon City Baptist Church turns out to have been the church where the most social and political concern was expressed, as it had fifteen sermons fitting into the category of social and political concern. These sermons represent 0.824% of the total number of 1,820 sermons preached within the thirty-five year period between 1950 and 1984 (1 sermon x 52 weeks x 35 years = 1,820 sermons). During that same period, Hong Kong Baptist Church had eleven sermons pertinent to the issue, i.e. only 0.604% of all sermons preached in that period. The pulpit of Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church can be considered the most socially and politically unconcerned among the three churches as it had only one sermon on educational ministry and society, i.e. only 0.055%. Judging from the above scrutiny, the teaching of church-state separation was hardly considered as significant among these three churches during that time, as the topic was addressed in less than 1% of the total number of sermon for thirty-five years.

An analysis of the themes of Sunday worship service indicates that there were some special worship services that were socially related, such as benevolence, medical and education ministry; but none that was explicitly church-state related. The only service that was church-state related was "*Wei Xianggang Qi Dao*," ("Praying for Hong Kong,") held on July 29, 1984, of Hong Kong Baptist church. This service was obviously a response to the approaching handover of Hong Kong in July 1, 1997. However, the other two churches remained mute on the issue so we may conclude that no special Sunday worship service focused on the most crucial issue in Hong Kong's history.

In short, from this empirical study of the practice of Sunday worship service of the three largest Baptist churches in Hong Kong, from the 1950s to the early 1980s, it can even be pointed out that the teaching of church-state separation was almost regarded as an "untouchable or forbidden" topic. This is supported by the evidence that in these three churches there were less than ten sermons preached upon the subject within a span of thirty-five-years. Enlightenment on this basic Baptist concept was seriously deficient in sermons. The planners of worship service also overlooked this issue and mainly concentrated on the individual's relationship with God. Therefore, it is a reasonable inference that the Baptist worship service can be described as focusing primarily on a mood of pietistic individualism and evangelism, and the teaching of church-state separation was somehow overlooked. Under such circumstances, it is

little wonder that members of these three largest Baptist congregations would have had little understanding of the church-state separation. Consequently, the core officials of the Baptist Convention in the first two decades of the post-World War II period were expected to have limited knowledge of the issue, as most of them were members of these Baptist churches.

What are the possible factors contributing to the development of such kind of a practice?

Explanations of the Phenomena

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, various contextual Chinese theologies throughout the world are derived from theologies developed in mainland China in the early twentieth century. The practices of Baptists in Hong Kong were no exception. It would therefore be useful to examine the heritage of Chinese theology as a starting point for exploring the issue of Baptist worship. Since the nineteenth century Chinese theology in Mainland China was a product of the Western missionaries, the pertinent Western theological thought will be introduced simultaneously.

Theology of Wang Ming-tao (Wang Mingdao)

In the nineteenth century, there was a heated theological controversy in mainland China between missionaries who were evangelical and those who were liberal (proponents of the “social gospel”). The controversy in China was actually a replay, or even a continuation, of the fundamentalist-liberal controversy in churches in the West. The leading figure of evangelical missionaries was J. Hudson Taylor and the representative of the missionaries with the social gospel approach was Timothy Richard. The former group insisted that, in evangelising, the pure gospel must be the top priority although Taylor’s conservative group also founded schools and hospitals. The latter group led by Timothy Richard proposed a dual emphasis of evangelism, which claimed that is social services and evangelism shared the same importance.¹⁰⁷ In the early twentieth century, the theological thought in China was gradually dominated by humanism and liberalism under the threat of Western imperialism and colonialism. The most prevailing theological thought, which was also the centre of the storm, was

¹⁰⁷ For a detailed discussion of the theological controversy between liberals and conservatives in the early twentieth century in China, see Lam, *Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900-1949*, 107-20, 151-64.

the idea of saving China by Christian characters; namely, a social gospel approach. The liberals were strongly committed to the claim that the only way to save the nation is to learn Jesus' character and practise his deeds.¹⁰⁸

Although there are no official statistics about the numbers of evangelicals (including conservatives and fundamentalists) and liberals in China, the former group far exceeded the latter.¹⁰⁹ Wang Ming-tao (1900 – 1991) was the major leader of the former,¹¹⁰ and his theology has been indisputably regarded as the paradigm of daily life practices and thoughts of contemporary Chinese evangelicals all over the world.¹¹¹ He is also probably the best-known Protestant Chinese leader outside China, described as “a spellbinding preacher who could keep a congregation's attention for hours on end.”¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Lam Wing-hung, “Wang Ming-tao De Zhong Sheng Shenxue,” [“Reborn Theology of Wang Ming-tao,”] in *Encounter Between Christianity and Chinese Culture*, ed. Lo Lung-kwong (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Chung Chi College, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2001), 17-21; Lam Wing-hung, *Wong Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology, 1982), 18-21.

¹⁰⁹ Arnold M. K. Yeung, *Theology of Reconciliation and Church Renewal* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Seed Press Ltd., 1987), 76-77, footnote 54.

¹¹⁰ Lam, *Wong Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church*, 4-5; Lam, “Wang Ming-tao De Zhong Sheng Shenxue,” [“Reborn Theology of Wang Ming-tao,”] 24. For Wang Ming-tao's autobiography, see Wang Ming-tao, *Wushi nian lai* [These Fifty Years] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Bellman House, 1967). For biographical information and theological views of Wang Ming-tao in English, Ng Lee-ming, “Christianity and Nationalism in China,” *East Asia Journal of Theology* 2: 1 (1983): 71-88; Leslie Lyall, *Three of China's Mighty Men* (London, UK: OMF Books, 1973), 97-142; Philip L. Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1990), 164-70. For Wang's biography and theological views in Chinese, Lam Wing-hung's materials are the most systematic and in-depth, see Lam, *Wong Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church* which is the most complete one.

¹¹¹ Yeung, *Theology of Reconciliation and Church Renewal*, 76; Lam “Theology of Rebirth of Wang Ming-tao,” 4. Another major church leader at that time was Ni Tuosheng (Watchman Nee), the founder of the Little Flock and pioneer of indigenous church. Nee is famous in the West, as many of his writings have been translated into English. Nee's theology was strongly opposed to accept any formal denominational structure and his message was that “the local ‘Christian assemblies’ represented the form of Christian community mandated by the New Testament. All other forms of church structure were sinful and heretical, for the New Testament taught that only one church should exist in each geographical area.” (Wickeri, 162). Both Wang and Nee were “fervently evangelical in doctrine, and emphasised personal conversion based on the Bible rather than complex ritual.” See Tony Lambert, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church* (London, UK: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991), 14. For Watchman Nee's biography and theology, see Lam Wing-hung, *The Spiritual Theology of Watchman Nee* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology, 1985); Lam Wing-hung, “Wei Tuosheng De Shue Ning Shenxue,” [“The Spiritual Theology of Watchman Nee,”] in *Encounter Between Christianity and Chinese Culture*, ed. Lo Lung-kwong (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Chung Chi College, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2001), 43-74; Neil T. Duddy and the S.C.P., *The God-men: An Inquiry into Witness Lee & the Local Church*, 2nd ed. (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1981); James Mo-oi Cheung, *The Ecclesiology of Watchman Nee and Witness Lee* (Fort Washington, Pennsylvania: Christian Literature Crusade, 1972); Lyall, *Three of China's Mighty Men*, 43-96; Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front*, 162-64.

¹¹² Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front*, 164. One of the reasons of making Wang famous was his arrest and

Wang began his ministry in the 1920s and was renamed “Ming-tao” (“Mingdao”) which means “to prove the *logos*.” To understand the social impact of pietistic individualism on Chinese Christians, we need to understand two aspects of Wang’s theological views: the essence of salvation and the church’s responsibilities. In Wang’s view, personal salvation is absolutely the most essential element in Christian faith and it is totally an individual matter. Wang was convinced that the salvation of Jesus Christ is the foundation only for personal salvation and not for social reform. He maintains that people cannot be saved by their own power or merits (the internal force), but only by Jesus’ salvation (the external force). Thus, rebirth of individuals is the essence of salvation and Jesus Christ is the only source of salvation.¹¹³ Wang asserts that Jesus Christ’s two most important missions are to redeem and to reveal the real image of God.¹¹⁴ The proof of rebirth is solely based on the Bible. In other words, the Bible is the only authority of Christian faith, the record of God’s revelation, and the highest moral standard of Christian practices.¹¹⁵

According to Wang, the church is the fellowship of born-again Christians. Three broad themes can be observed from Wang’s ecclesiology: Firstly, there is a community of rebirth; secondly, this community is separate from the world (with a robust and clear sense of spiritual-secular dichotomy); and finally, this community is the embodiment of a husband-wife relations, referring to future coming of Jesus Christ to claim the church.¹¹⁶ Regarding the church’s missions, Wang strongly asserts that it is not God’s will to ask the church to carry out social reform. The Heavenly Kingdom is not an ideal society on earth; moreover, it is impossible for the corrupted and mortal people to establish a holy, just, and ever-lasting kingdom.¹¹⁷ However, Wang does not seem to neglect totally the social responsibility of the church even though he

imprisonment twice. The first time was on August 8, 1955 and he was released in September 1956; Wang and his wife were put in jail again in April 1958 until the very last day of 1979. He became a symbol of Christian anti-communism and the issue aroused a great deal of sympathy and support extended to Wang among Chinese Christians in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Wicker says “[h]ad there been an Amnesty International in 1955, he would undoubtedly have been adopted as a prisoner of conscience,” as the charges against Wang were never very specific. (165) For details of Wang’s arrest and imprisonment, see Lam, *Wong Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church*, 114-23; Jonathan Chao and Rosanna Chong, *A History of Christianity in Socialist China, 1949-1997* (in Chinese) (Taipei: CMI Publishing Co., Ltd., 1997), 81-86ff, 283-84.

¹¹³ Lam, “*Wang Mingtao De Zhong Sheng Shenxue*,” [“Reborn Theology of Wang Ming-tao,”] 13-21.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 23.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 23-28.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 35-36.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 36-37.

vehemently claims that evangelism is the Church's only mission. He explains that "the gospel is not for transformation of society, but society will be benefited from those who have accepted the gospel."¹¹⁸ Since individual reform is a must and prior to social reform, rebirth of individuals is the most essential; namely, if there is no individual reform, there will be no social reform. Therefore, Wang implies strongly that evangelism must take priority over social services and reform.

In short, it is clear that Wang's theology is purely individualistic with a strong sense of church-world dichotomy, so that social consciousness is the least important factor in his theology. The contact point between the church and society is evangelism. Contrary to the prevailing theological views in China, Wang fervently argues that the pure gospel of Christianity is about salvation, and insists social services and reform carried out by Christians do not represent the essence of Christianity.¹¹⁹ Wang considers Christianity to run counter to Chinese culture; namely, the two are irreconcilable, a common understanding shared by most Chinese evangelicals, including conservatives and fundamentalists. Since Chinese traditional culture, like all other cultures in the world, is penetrated and contaminated by human sinfulness, there can be no point of convergence between the gospel and culture.¹²⁰ This being true, the only mission for Christians is evangelism and certainly not trying to meet any cultural or social responsibility.¹²¹

What were the possible origins of Wang's theological views?

Premillennialism

The premillennialism movement is identified as a significant part in the missionary movement in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Premillennialism sprang from "complex and tangled roots" in the traditions of "revivalism, evangelicalism, pietism, Americanism, and variant orthodoxies." A common theme in premillennialism circles was the return of Christ, which led

¹¹⁸ My translation taken from the quotation cited in Lam, "Wang Mingtao De Zhong Sheng Shenxue," ["Reborn Theology of Wang Ming-tao,"] 37-38.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 9-13, 38-39. The dominant theological and social thoughts in China in the early twentieth century included Schleiermacher's theology, Bergson's Creative Evolutionism, Darwin's Evolutionism, Dewey's Pragmatism. For details, see Lam, *Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900-1949*, 107-20, 235-51.

¹²⁰ Lam, *Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900-1949*, 219.

¹²¹ Yeung, *Theology of Reconciliation and Church Renewal*, 76-78; Lam, *Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900-1949*, 219; Lam, "Wang Ming-tao De Zhong Sheng Shenxue," ["Reborn Theology of Wang Ming-tao,"] 15.

Christians to have a sense of urgency and a strong emphasis on what needed to be accomplished before Christ would return. During the second half of the nineteenth century, several missionary leaders and their mission organisations began to use Matthew 24:14 as their major missionary text. Christ's return was treated as dependent upon the successful completion of the church's missionary task; namely, the preaching of the gospel to every nation was a condition that had to be fulfilled before Jesus Christ's second coming. Among all the missionaries to China, Karl Gutzlaff from Germany and J. Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission, were regarded as the most influential figures on the ecclesiastical development in China due to their vigorous eschatological expectations. Taylor was particularly famous for his campaign to evangelise China in great haste before the Parousia.¹²²

Strongly influenced by the thoughts of the Enlightenment, the premillennialism approach of evangelism stressed the idea of the individual's free choice. The church was seen as a community of individuals who had freely chosen to join a specific denomination. Dwight L. Moody was the principal North American evangelist during the heyday of this emphasis on individualism. In his evangelistic sermons, Moody concentrated on personal sins rather than structural ones. The twofold emphasis of his message was firstly, the sinner stands alone before God; and secondly, the Holy Spirit works only in the hearts of the individuals and is known primarily through personal experience. Moody's "theology" was strongly shaped by his pragmatism and evolved as he tested doctrines for their suitability for evangelism and as he judged the appeal of his sermons in calling sinners to conversion.¹²³ In the final analysis, Moody only emphasises individualism and pragmatism since successful evangelism was his only goal.

Gradually, premillennialism became generally accepted among evangelicals. As a result, the emphasis of evangelicalism "shifted away from social involvement to exclusively *verbal* evangelism." Social concerns were reduced to a very minor role and faded from the evangelicals' interest in the 1920s. Despite this change, Moody and others maintained that evangelism had definite social consequences. Their rationale, spawned during the Enlightenment, was that there was a causal relationship between conversion and behaviour: "once people were evangelized and converted,

¹²² Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 315-16.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 317-18.

moral uplift inevitably followed. So individual conversions (the 'root') would eventually produce social reform (the 'fruit')." To premillennialists, including Moody, "salvation meant being *saved* from the world." However, their dichotomy of church-world was not a radically outward separation, but an inward one.¹²⁴

There are several obvious similarities between Wang Ming-tao's theology and premillennialism.¹²⁵ Firstly, evangelism is considered to be the only ultimate mission of Christians; secondly, salvation is a purely personal and individual issue; thirdly, converted Christians are expected to bring about social reform in society; finally, Christians are being saved from the world, which cannot be saved by Christians' efforts of social reform. Hence, social concerns are fruitless and should never become the church's focus. It is justifiable to say that Wang Ming-tao was deeply influenced by premillennialism, which is similar to the conservative evangelical theology of Hudson Taylor and Dwight Moody in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. By the 1920's, according to Bosch, "the evangelicals' interest in social concerns had, for all practical purposes, been obliterated."¹²⁶ Since this was exactly the time when Wang started his ministry in Beijing, it is not surprising to see that an intense premillennialism flavouring in Wang's teaching.

The influence of Wang Ming-tao's theological thought and premillennialism on Chinese Christians has been summarized in a discourse on the historical tradition of the Chinese evangelicals written by Philip Shen, the late president of Chung Chi College and professor of theology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. Shen points out that the churches in China were founded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by missionaries having a heritage strongly based on the Evangelical Awakening, pietism and the modern missionary movement. As a result, churches in China, as well as overseas Chinese Christian communities, inevitably inherited certain pietistic characteristics, which are as follows:

Firstly, personal salvation or personal soul salvation is highly, or even solely, emphasized among the Christian doctrines. It would seem that the Gospel is related to nothing other than people's souls. Secondly, personal inward feeling is accentuated, which has an anti-epistemic inclination; that is, inward piety and

¹²⁴ Ibid., 318.

¹²⁵ Many Chinese conservative Christian leaders in the early twentieth century accepted the theology of premillennialism and Wang Ming-tao was one of the typical examples. Lam, *Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900-1949*, 118.

¹²⁶ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 318.

enthusiasm are considered the most essential elements in the growth of spiritual life. Knowledge is not regarded as the way to approach God, but rather considered to be a barrier. Thus, the church does not always encourage its youth to pursue theology, as they may be led astray. Thirdly, personal devotional life and good personal behaviour are the empirical proofs of salvation. A moral life, as defined by evangelical missionaries, emphasises prohibitions against adultery, gambling, drinking, and smoking.¹²⁷

As might be expected, there are at least three characteristic problems among the Chinese evangelical Christians throughout the world according to Shen. Firstly, individualistic and subjective standpoints are over-emphasized. Secondly, although private morality is clearly expressed, teaching about social ethics is obscure. The teaching and practice of social concerns by the Western evangelical churches have been neglected by Chinese Christians. In fact, the early evangelicals in Anglicanism were concerned about the social issues, such as slavery and labour wages. Thirdly, cultural and historical consciousness is weak, but political consciousness is even vaguer. A few traditional doctrines were treated as the whole gospel, regardless of their historical setting and time when they were adopted by the church. This tradition persisted due to the absence of a critical and contextualised response to evangelical theologies on the part of Chinese Christians.¹²⁸ Shen concludes that there would be no political consciousness among Hong Kong Christians if there were not the issue of 1997.¹²⁹

Undoubtedly, Shen's comment reveals the powerful impact of pietism on the ecclesiological and theological practices of Chinese Christians in Hong Kong. Baptists in Hong Kong certainly would have inherited the pietistic tradition and the problems accompanying it.

State Control of Religion

In his classic research, *Religion in Chinese Society*, C. K. Yang examines the social functions of religion in China and some of the historical factors from a

¹²⁷ Philip Shen, "Hua Ren Jiaohui De Lishi Chuantong Yu Shehui Canyu," ["Historical Tradition of Chinese Church and Social Participation,"] in *The Fullness of the Gospel*, ed. Joseph Kaung Tai-wai and Kwok Pui-lan (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Chung Chi College Theology Division, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1984), 79-80. Actually, the teaching of prohibition of adultery, of gambling, of drinking, and of smoking is also found in the basic moral teaching of Chinese ancient literature.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 80.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

religious-sociological perspective. Yang discerns two “structural forms of religion” in Chinese society: institutional religion and diffused religion. The former, including Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, “has a system of theology, rituals, and organization of its own and is independent of other secular social institutions,” because it is “a social institution by itself, having its own basic concepts and its own structural system.” The latter, including numerous sects and folk religions, has “its theology, rituals, and organization intimately merged with the concepts and structure of secular institutions and other aspects of the social order. The beliefs and rituals of diffused religion develop their organizational system as an integral part of the organized social pattern,” which “performs a pervasive function in an organized manner in every major aspect of Chinese social life.”¹³⁰ Yang points out that the practice of state control of “voluntary types of religion” has been a consistent pattern in Chinese history.¹³¹ Political approval or sponsorship was the only way possible for institutional religion to develop in China, and a deterioration in the rulers’ favour led to persecution and loss of the religion’s organised strength.¹³²

The dominance of the Confucian orthodoxy stemmed from rulers’ practical consideration for maintaining the established socioeconomic order: Firstly, the Confucian orthodoxy safeguarded the legitimacy of “the basic ruler-subject and parent-son relationships.” Both were of prime importance to the state, as they were the quintessence for preserving the authoritarian pattern of the Chinese family organisation and as filial piety was the core, through which the people were trained in submission and loyalty to the traditional authoritarian state. Secondly, Confucian orthodoxy could prevent the rise of an economically non-productive class of priests threatening a loss in the nation’s productivity and in government revenue.¹³³ The rationale behind such careful control over religion was based upon “the general purpose of guarding the interests of the ruling power and the state against the possible subversive influence of heterodoxy.” Buddhism and Taoism were both classified as heterodoxy, meaning a “religious belief and activity divergent from the state

¹³⁰ C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their Historical Factors* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1961), 20-21 and the introduction chapter.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 211.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 210-11.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 199.

orthodoxy of Confucianism.”¹³⁴ Obviously, the government’s antagonism to heterodoxy was largely due to practical political considerations, and not for any theological reasons.¹³⁵ Another characteristic of the development of religious movements in China was a dependence on the patronage of prominent political figures.¹³⁶

We can conclude that the rise or fall of any type of religion in China depends on the government’s will and preference. The reasons for the policy of heterodoxy (religions) tolerance by the government were as follows: Firstly, a religion could offer social values, such as astronomical knowledge as introduced by the Catholic missionaries in Ming and Qing Dynasties. Secondly, a religion did not have political connection or socio-economic power. Finally, a religion had to acknowledge the supremacy of the ruling party as the absolute norm for social and individual life and to accept Confucianism as the only social orthodoxy.¹³⁷ Hence, all types of religion in China, including Christianity, had to act in accordance with the rules of the government in order to survive and to gain official acceptance. Religion’s teachings and practices were not supposed to challenge the existing official policies, ideologies, values, and viewpoints. This was a practice for the past two millennia in China. In such a cultural context, the early Chinese Christians were likely to foster an uncritical attitude toward government. This attitude was internalised as part of the Chinese social norm and behaviour.

The church-state relationship in China after the establishment of the Republic in 1911 was a typical example of state control of religion. After the nominal unity over the country in 1928, the *Guomindang* (the Nationalist Party) launched a massive social reform, covering the areas of diplomacy, economy, transportation, education, agriculture and new national morality in order to lead China toward modernity. Christians were invited to participate in the reform, particularly in the areas of education and the New Life Movement.¹³⁸ These are the issues that led the church to

¹³⁴ Ibid., 192. For detailed study of orthodoxy and heterodoxy in ancient China, see Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism 1860-1870* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963), 3-60.

¹³⁵ Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society*, 216-17.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 211.

¹³⁷ Jonathan Chao, *Chinese Communist Policy Toward Christianity* (in Chinese) (Taipei: China Evangelical Seminary Press, 1986), 8.

¹³⁸ Lam, *Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900-1949*, 339-48. The New Life Movement, launched in February 1934, had both social and political objectives: Firstly, a combat spirit was injected into the people’s life in order to build up a militant life-style, which was expected to be

accept “an uneasy accommodation between church and state.”¹³⁹ If the churches registered with the government as members of a civic society, they would have been placed “under the ‘guidance’ and control of a party-state that would not tolerate antiparty or antigovernment actions, including any challenge to party doctrines and Sun Yat-sen’s *Sanmin zhuyi* (Three principles of the people).” In other words, “the party brooked no rivals and found Christian teachings in the schools unacceptable” within the process of political socialisation.¹⁴⁰ Although the Nationalist government was much less successful in imposing absolute control over the church than the imperial dynasties before it, “the state and church actually found grounds for compromise and accommodation.” The war against Japan in the 1930s provided “more opportunities for state-church cooperation.”¹⁴¹

In fact, Hong Kong Baptists, after their establishment as a denominational body in 1938, continued to launch special offerings for war relief for refugees in Mainland China.¹⁴² Such church-state cooperation since the early twentieth century is collateral evidence of the influence of this cultural factor, i.e. the power of state control of religion.

Conclusion

As most of the positions in the Baptist denominational body were held by the lay-leaders and ministers from three major Baptist churches, in terms of history, membership, and finance, these leaders’ understanding of church-state relations and social concerns played an important part of formulating the church-state practices of

beneficial to the war against the communists. Secondly, by merging Confucianism and Sun Yat-sen’s *Sanmin Zhuyi* (Three Principles of the People), a regeneration of consciousness of traditional culture was expected to replace the Soviet ideology. (Lam, 340-42); also see Ka-che Yip, “China and Christianity: Perspectives on Missions, Nationalism, and the State in the Republican Period, 1912-1949,” in *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans, 2003), 138-39. In education, most of the best universities, secondary and primary schools were church-run. There were 30,000 college students in 1929 and 60,000 in 1936. (Lam, 340; for details of the educational ministry, see Tang, *The First Hundred Years of Protestant Mission in China*, 556-78) Yip points out that a state-church cooperation pattern in education that “the government provided grants to Christian colleges that had proved to be among some of the best schools in the country, essential to China’s strengthening and modernization.” (Yip, 138) Such a pattern might have given an impression to Chinese Christians, including Lam Chi-fung and Baptists in colonial Hong Kong, that acquisition of governmental subsidies and grants was a well established and acceptable practice.

¹³⁹ Yip, “China and Christianity,” 136.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 137.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 138-39.

¹⁴² “*Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershi Zhounian Lishi*,” [“A Twenty-year History of The Baptist Association of Hong Kong”] 4.

the Baptist community. Thus, the policies regarding social ministries, particularly education, can be regarded as an embodiment of a collective understanding of the church-state practices of those denominational leaders. Since they were mainly the members of the three largest Baptist churches, their decisions can be considered to reflect significantly the level of their understanding of the Baptist church-state tradition as presented in their churches' Sunday worship services.

An important findings of the survey of these churches is the over-emphasis on the topics concerned with pietistic individualism. The worship themes and preaching tended to be concerned with such topics as one's personal relationship with God, devotional life, Bible study, prayer, fellowship and sin. Teachings about church-state relationship and social concerns were somehow overlooked as corollaries of the pietistic heritage. Therefore, it is justifiably to make the following inferences: Firstly, a correlation between the church-state practices of the Hong Kong Baptist Convention and the practices of worship is clearly established. Secondly, it was assumed that the church-state practices of Baptists was influenced and shaped by the worship practices of Baptist churches, especially the three largest ones.

To understand the spiritual and theological content in Hong Kong Baptist worship service, it is helpful to study the theology of Wang Ming-tao and pre-millennialism, a prevailing heritage in Chinese theology in the early twentieth century. Moreover, the Chinese cultural factor of state control of religion has led Chinese Christians to internalise the uncritical attitude of Chinese toward government so much that socio-political issues are too sensitive to be preached in Sunday worship services. Such a cultural factor also serves as a catalyst causing Christians to assume a social demeanour of state-church cooperation.

In the early twentieth century, the battle resulting from the liberal-conservative controversy in the West was replayed in China. It may be inferred that Chinese Christians all over the world are basically heirs to evangelicalism which upholds a conservative theological tradition. One of the most palpable qualities of evangelicalism is the emphasis on pietistic individualism and a church-world dichotomy. Evangelism is considered to be the only mission of Christians. Their overarching conviction is that they must try their best to save as many souls as possible to complete the churches' mission to evangelise the world as soon as possible. This is based on the belief that the second coming of Jesus Christ depends on Christian's completion of the evangelism mission. A church-world dichotomy fosters

a belief that the church and the world are separated, so that the world in a sense will never be saved. Social concerns and social reform are regarded as unimportant and have never been the primary focus of Chinese Baptists' spirituality and practice. In other words, the essence of worship has been pietistic with individualism as a corollary.

Edified by the conservative evangelical theology and nurtured by the spirituality of pietistic individualism, Hong Kong Baptists have planned their Sunday worship services to focus on the inwardness of the participants and their personal relationship with God. The main focus of worship shifted to the participants' themselves and to their personal needs rather than on worship of God. Furthermore, a problem of privatisation and marginalisation of Christians in their theology is an outcome of such inward and self-centred worship service, which domesticated worship to be the 'holy hours' on Sunday, unrelated to Christians' lives throughout the week.

CHAPTER FOUR

FROM CHRISTENDOM TO POST-CHRISTENDOM

With the initiation of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984, a 13-year transitional period began. The church, like all other organisations in every strata of society, was offered a significant period of time to prepare itself for the change. During the pre- and post-transitional period, many research essays were published on the issue of the church-state relationship. Most of them came to a similar conclusion to that of Lo Lung-kwong:

The Hong Kong government basically observes the policy of separation of church and state...¹

Was it possible for UK, a country with an established church, to implement the policy of church-state separation in Hong Kong? Did the colonial government ever implement the policy of church-state separation in the territory? Before answering these questions, we need to address the issue of church-state relationship based on the analysis provided by political scientists, sociologists, and theologians, from the East and West.

The focus of this chapter is an attempt to use Yoder's concept of the Jeremianic Model as the criteria for explaining the church-state practice of Baptists in Hong Kong. This comes after the review of the sociological models of church-state relations and theological concepts of church-world relations offered by local Hong Kong scholars and theologians in the West. The discussion consists of three parts: Firstly, there is an overview of the socio-political-ecclesiological characteristics of Hong Kong. This includes a scrutiny of the existing sociological models and concepts describing Hong Kong's church-state situation as proposed by local Hong Kong scholars. Secondly, there is an introduction to a discourse on church-world relations by three post-World War II theologians in the West, Oliver O'Donovan, Stanley Hauerwas and John Howard Yoder. These theologians represent different perspectives of Christian theology on church-world relations: Christendom theology versus post-Christendom theology. Finally, a dialogue among the three Western theologians related to the context of Hong Kong is presented, including Yoder's critique of Constantinianism, and the relationship between the Church's mission and Christendom in the context of Hong Kong.

¹ Lo Lung-kwong, "The Future of the Church in Hong Kong," *Word & World* 17, 2 (1997): 208.

An Overview of the Socio-Political-Ecclesiological Characteristics in Hong Kong

In considering the economic success of Hong Kong, Lau Siu-kai explains that the “twentieth-century miracle” of Hong Kong² did not fall on the positive end of the scale of political stability, but Hong Kong did experience a relatively high level of political stability in the neutral sense.³ The Rev. Kwok Nai-wang presents another side of the story. He refers to Hong Kong as a city of “an economic miracle unjustly divided” and criticises the colonial government for implementing the policy that enabled the rich to get much richer in the last decade before the handover. According to *Hong Kong Economic Journal* on January 2, 1996, the 10 richest families possessed 51 percent of the shares on the local stock exchange, a total value of US\$308 billion, in December 1995. He claims that “it is widely believed that 80 percent of the total wealth in Hong Kong belongs to less than 5 percent of the population. Indeed, Hong Kong is a place for the rich and by the rich. There is very little that the middle and lower classes, which comprise 97 percent of the population, can do to check the expansion of this socio-economic imbalance.”⁴

There are several factors affecting the socio-political setting that has direct impact on the formation of political conditions in Hong Kong. As Christians are members of society, they are inevitably shaped by the political culture of this social

² Lau Siu-kai, *Society and Politics in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1984), 1. The twentieth-century miracle refers to the “[r]apid economic growth, urbanization, a colonial regime professing laissez-faire and social non-interventionism, and political stability” of Hong Kong from the 1950s to 1980s, which are the salient features of the colony’s recent history, that has no counterpart in the world. (1)

³ Ibid., 1-23. According to Lau, a nebulous concept of political stability by Leon Hurwitz and Claude Ake is that: “Its meaning ranges from a positive sense of presence of high level of political and moral consensus, the existence of legitimate constitutional order with which everyone identifies, and the establishment of an integrated political system which allows for popular political participation and the resolution of conflicts in a peaceful manner, to a neutral sense of the absence of political conflicts and violence, a chaotic succession of regimes or to structural changes in the political system or the rules of the political game. ‘Political stability’ in Hong Kong, very obviously, does not fall on the positive end of the scale. In the neutral sense, Hong Kong has experienced a relatively high level of political stability.” (1)

⁴ Kwok Nai-wang, 1997: *Hong Kong’s Struggle for Selfhood* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Christian Institute, 1996), 6-7. The Rev. Kwok Nai-wang, an ordained minister of the Church of Christ in China (CCC), is a founder of the Hong Kong Christian Institute (HKCI). He is considered as the most outspoken church leader to criticize the church-state relationship of Hong Kong and one of the most prominent leaders in the Christian community to stand for total political democracy in Hong Kong both before and after the handover of 1997. He makes similar criticism in other publications such as Kwok Nai-wang, *Hong Kong on the Brink of Recolonization* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Christian Institute, 1996), 1-18; Kwok Nai-wang, *Hong Kong Church Faces a New Millenium* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Christian Institute, 1998), 36-56; Kwok Nai-wang, *Hong Kong After 1997: The First 1000 Days* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Christian Institute, 2000), 101-20.

environment.

Hong Kong as a Colonial Society

The colonial societies are usually stereotyped as immoral and lacking social righteousness and justice, and the colonialists are always thought to impose all kinds of deprivation and discrimination upon the native people and exploit their natural resources and raw materials.⁵ However, according to Lau, such conceptualisations lead only to partial truths or outright distortions when applied to Hong Kong. Lau provides numerous explanations of the incompatibility between theory and reality in the case of Hong Kong, as stated below:

Firstly, the primary purpose for the British to acquire Hong Kong was to establish a trading base in the Far East, particularly to provide a stepping stone for entering China, and not to expand militarily or territorially. Secondly, the Chinese from the mainland came voluntarily to Hong Kong and accepted the rule of an alien colonial administration. Thirdly, a common goal of economic gain created a consensus and base of partnership between the British and the Mainland Chinese governments in the development of Hong Kong. Fourthly, as Hong Kong is famous for its scarcity of natural resources, the accusation of acquisition of raw materials for the mother country can hardly be justified. In fact, this problem of scarcity has limited the development of Hong Kong, causing it to focus on the development on human resources, particularly on entrepreneurial initiative and labour productivity. A stable political framework then has always been considered essential. It is the only way to facilitate the ongoing economic development so that both the people and government can benefit. Finally, in Hong Kong the racial or ethnic issue was never as serious as in other developing and colonial areas. Segregation and discriminative measures against the Chinese on racial and cultural grounds were considered to be unavoidable in earlier stages, but such restrictions were gradually withdrawn over time. Rather, as an “achievement-oriented” and economic-oriented society, a stratification of the populace of Hong Kong was mainly drawn along the economic

⁵ Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London, UK and New York, New York: Routledge, 1998), 1-6. For instance, Luis N. Rivera's *A Violent Evangelism: The Political and Religious Conquest of the Americas* discloses how the native American people throughout Latin America were expropriated of the land, properties, freedom, peoplehood, and future by the European colonists in the name of evangelism since the event of 1492, the discovery of the so-called “New” World. Luis N. Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism: The Political and Religious Conquest of the Americas*, foreword by Justo L. Gonzalez (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992).

lines.⁶

From a sociological perspective, Lau summarizes the uniqueness of colonial Hong Kong which generates the political stability of the territory:

Basically, Hong Kong is a society where political power is concentrated in the hands of a particular racial/ethnic group, where different ethnic groups share certain assumptions about the importance of economic goals, where accommodative attitudes hold in both groups, where cultural diversity is held within tolerable limits and prevented important means to maintain social and political order, and where nationalist feelings do not loom large.⁷

Depoliticising Society

The term “colony” by its very nature suggests ‘not democracy’. Norman J. Miners, describes the political situation of colonial Hong Kong as “not democracy, but politics.”⁸ Democracy refers to the standard of western European democracies, “a government which is answerable to the people and liable to be dismissed at a free election where all the adult population have the right to vote.”⁹ Politics, by contrast, is a very derogatory term, suggesting “a very low species of life who go around stirring up conflict and disorder.”¹⁰ From a perspective of political science, Miners has the following observations:

...there are certain democratic elements in the colony which are found in few other developing countries: the courts are independent of the executive and sometimes hand down decisions which the administration dislikes; the rule of law is observed; there is no censorship of the press; there are no political prisoners detained without trial; groups and individuals are free to protest against government decisions and to organize agitation to have them changed.¹¹

How did the British administer this unique city? Lau answers this question by referring to bureaucratic polity. It is a distinguished form of government in which “national decision-making is insulated from social and political forces outside the highest elite echelons of the capital city.” In essence, Lau calls it a “secluded” bureaucracy in essence, and it is “a quite significant factor in the low level of

⁶ Lau, *Society and Politics in Hong Kong*, 7-9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁸ Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, updated and rev. ed., chapter 16, 251-254.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 251.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 252.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 251.

politicization in Hong Kong.” Further, the “seclusion” of bureaucracy is both a significant cause and a logical outcome of political stability in the territory.¹² In other words, depoliticising society is one of the consequences of the seclusion of bureaucracy.¹³

It is no exaggeration to claim that there is a general rule of bureaucratic polity which insists: “Politics is seen to threaten the hegemony of the bureaucratic regime.” The colonial government in Hong Kong seemed to have no immunity from abhorrence and consternation among the people. In fact, the term “politics” has “an extremely obnoxious connotation” in Hong Kong, since it is associated with malicious plots, violence, dirty tricks, and such negative activities.¹⁴ Lau comments that the colonial government was “not innocent of spreading these connotations both to discourage politics of all kinds and to discredit any would-be ‘trouble-makers’ or do-gooders.”¹⁵ He maintains his argument by referring to a statement by Sir Alexander Grantham, the governor of Hong Kong, to the Legislative Council on March 8, 1950:

We cannot permit Hong Kong to be the battleground for contending political parties or ideologies. We are just simple traders who want to get on with [well] [*sic*] our daily round and common task. This may not be very noble, but at any rate it does not disturb others.¹⁶

From the perspective of international politics, as discussed in the previous chapter, this policy of depoliticisation was fully understandable, and may have served the best interests of Hong Kong in the midst of the Cold War period. Firstly, it was the only way to prevent Hong Kong from becoming the battleground between the Communist China and the Nationalist government in Taiwan. Secondly, Communist China would not be given any excuse to take over Hong Kong, thus preserving the colony for the West as its most important spot for the West to gather intelligence from behind the Chinese bamboo curtain. However, it can be argued that this anti-political stance was carried to the other extreme in Hong Kong, causing all kinds of political activities

¹² Lau, *Society and Politics in Hong Kong*, 25-26.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 29-48. The rationale of addressing this particular consequence as, among all the consequences, depoliticising society exerts the most direct impact on the church-state relationship in Hong Kong. Other consequences, mentioned by Lau, are: government by consent, bureaucratic paternalism, guardian of common interests, rule by law, bureaucratic centralism, economic laissez-faire, social non-interventionism, and provision of social services.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Hong Kong Hansard*, 1950: 41; cited in Lau, *Society and Politics in Hong Kong*, 36.

to be banned. Lau expresses certain opinion about this oversensitive posture to politics:

First, this is a correlate of the anti-political professionalism characteristic of practically speaking all bureaucratic cultures, British colonial administrative culture in particular. Secondly, this is in connection with the intention by the government to stamp out all nascent sources of independent political power. And, finally, this is used as an excuse to divert attention away from real issues, discredit the 'trouble-makers' and to rationalize inaction. In particular, the government is extremely apprehensive about its ability to regulate the behaviour of the people at the grass-roots level, where both their lack of 'viable' organizations and their 'overorganization' would be causes of serious concern.¹⁷

The Support of the Chinese Elite

Since Hong Kong was primarily a safe haven for refugees from the mainland, as mentioned previously, and since colonial Hong Kong was also an economic-oriented society with a very large portion of its native population subjecting itself voluntarily to an alien government, it is valid to say that the general Chinese population in Hong Kong had the primary goal of achieving a better life. This being the case, it was relatively easy for the colonial government to acquire the cooperation of the Hong Kong people as long as the former would fulfil the economical needs of the latter.¹⁸

According to Lau's analysis, the Chinese elite, comprised of entrepreneurs, industrialists, social notables, and other prominent individuals – shared the economic interests of the British elite – comprised of governmental officials and business groups. The local elite were willing to give full support to the government to maintain political stability.¹⁹ Undoubtedly, the elite's support offered a positive contribution to the political stability of colonial Hong Kong. For instance, it furnished "the government with an aura of prestige and legitimacy, thus bolstering the government's status in the eyes of the public." Moreover, the Chinese elite also served "as middlemen or liaison persons for the government to bargain with the masses."²⁰

Thus, the following conclusions can be made. Firstly, since the church was born and fostered under this sort of political ecosystem, it was inescapably absorbed

¹⁷ Lau, *Society and Politics in Hong Kong*, 37.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

by the government, becoming a component of the administrative mechanism. Secondly, since its leaders were also members of the elite group of society, they naturally would have promoted political equilibrium. They would hardly lead church towards a less confrontational relationship with the government. As they were part of the establishment, the church leaders' interests would have been in jeopardy if the political stability were not maintained.

The Administrative Absorption of Politics

Among the existing sociological and political models for explaining the socio-political context of Hong Kong, Ambrose Yeo-chi King's theory of administrative absorption of politics is recognized as the most prominent and authoritative model for presenting the issue conceptually and empirically. King's model is reliable on explaining systematically the political ecology of the colony.

Administrative absorption of politics is useful in explaining the process that gave rise to a kind of social and political equilibrium in Hong Kong. According to King, it is

a process by which the government co-opts the political forces, often represented by elite groups, into an administrative decision-making body, thus achieving some level of elite integration; as a consequence, the governing authority is made legitimate, a loosely integrated political community is established.²¹

King borrows the concept of "synarchy" from J. K. Fairbank, claiming that it is "the key to understanding the art of government and politics in Hong Kong."²² The importance of synarchy is that it implies that there is

a joint administration shared by both the British rulers and non-British, predominantly Chinese, leaders. The kernel of synarchy is a form of elite consensual government; it is a grass-tops approach to the problem of political integration. The British have, consciously or unconsciously, governed the colony on the synarchical principle by allowing, though limiting, non-British participation in the ruling group.²³

Administrative absorption of politics has its formal and informal sides. The

²¹ Ambrose Yeo-chi King, "Administrative Absorption of Politics in Hong Kong: Emphasis on the Grass Roots Level," in *Social Life and Development in Hong Kong*, eds. Ambrose Y. C. King and Rance P. L. Lee (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1981), 130.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

formal side was the absorption of Chinese intellectuals into the colonial bureaucracy, which continued to be dominated by British expatriates until the 1990s. The informal side involved the absorption of wealthy and prominent Chinese leaders into official political circles by either giving them formal membership in the Councils²⁴ or bestowing on them honours, such as Justice of the Peace and involving them in advisory committees at various administrative levels.²⁵ Administrative absorption of politics was certainly one of the most significant factors contributing to the political stability of Hong Kong. In order to demonstrate the dynamic of the model, two examples are discussed as follows:

Tung Wah Hospital, opened in 1872,²⁶ was a medical hospital established for Chinese in particular; because of the local people were prejudice against Western medicine. The prejudice had caused a serious social problem to develop in the colony, as the local Chinese had refused to accept Western medical treatment provided by public hospitals, preferring rather to die on the streets without any proper medical treatment. Tung Wah Hospital was a joint-venture between the government and the local Chinese community. The construction was financed by donations collected from the local Chinese elite and governmental sponsorship. The founding board of trustees consisted of the twelve Chinese who had donated the largest sum of money. The governor attended the opening ceremony, marking the first time in colonial history when a governor had attended the opening of a Chinese organisation and suggesting the hospital's prominent role in society. Members of the board of trustee for the Tung Wah Hospital were inevitably recognised as the unofficial leaders of the Chinese community in Hong Kong. Naturally, board positions became attractive to those business people ambitious to acquire a privileged status in the community.

²⁴ There were three Councils in colonial Hong Kong. The Executive Council functioned like the Cabinet of the governor. The Legislative Council was a legislative body. The Urban council was a city management council, to deal with matters such as public health. The former two were listed in the Constitution of Hong Kong and set up since the establishment of the colony, and the last was founded in 1936. For details, see the related chapters in Miner, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, 1982, 76-91, 126-76, 219-36.

²⁵ King, "Administrative Absorption of Politics in Hong Kong: Emphasis on the Grass Roots Level," 131-135.

²⁶ Tung Wah Hospital is a very unique institution that has various overlapping roles in such areas as medicine, education, religion, culture, business, politics, and society, in Hong Kong. Carl Smith says: "Seldom perhaps has one institution overlapped so many of these areas as Tung Wah Hospital. It has been a century and a quarter since the first Chinese Hospital Committee was formed – during these years the Hospital has played varying roles." See Carl T. Smith, "Tung Wah Hospital," chap. in *A Sense of History: Studies in the Social and Urban History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Educational Publishing Co., 1995), 64.

The board of the hospital undoubtedly provided a path of upward mobility for local Chinese. Most importantly, the trustees bridged the gap between the local Chinese and the colonial government.²⁷

The Tung Wah Hospital's importance was threefold: Firstly, it provided Chinese medical services for the local Chinese, thereby offering great help to the government. Secondly, trustees became the spokespersons of the Chinese community, and its representatives assumed the responsibility for dealing with the affairs between the local Chinese and the colonial government. Finally, the colonial government gradually began to make use of the trustees in order to manipulate the local Chinese. Hence, this counterpart of the colonial government became its partner, for helping administer the local Chinese community.

Christian education, following the same rational and strategy as the Tung Wah Hospital board, eventually became another example of administrative absorption of politics. It must be pointed out that the early colonial government made no provisions for education Hong Kong. In fact, Hong Kong was not regarded as a typical colony, since the objective of the British occupation of Hong Kong was primarily military and commercial. In the early days, "nobody seriously argued in favour of its potential value for the settlement of population or for the long-term commitments."²⁸ Therefore in this context, establishing a quality education system was not a priority of the early colonial government, its educational policy being overshadowed by political and commercial concerns. Even in these early days, one group, namely foreign missionaries from various parts of the world, were already eager to fill the void in education left by the government, since education was seen as a means of evangelism.²⁹ The first educational system in Hong Kong was started by the Morrison Education Society,³⁰ not by the colonial government. The society was headed by the American Protestant missionary, Elijah C. Bridgman, who moved the Morrison School from Macau to Hong Kong in 1842. The first Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Henry Pottinger, subsidised the Morrison School by donating the land on

²⁷ Sin Yuk-yee, "Shehui ZuZhi Yu Shehui Zhuanbian," ["Social Organisation and Social Transformation,"] 167-71; Smith, "Tung Wah Hospital," 64-83.

²⁸ Anthony Sweeting, *Education in Hong Kong Pre-1841 to 1941: Fact and Opinion - Materials for a History of Education in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1990), 139.

²⁹ Ibid., 1-3.

³⁰ Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 13. The Society was formed by foreign merchants at Guangzhou in 1835 in memory of the Reverend Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China.

which it was built.³¹ This seemed to be consistent with educational policies in Great Britain at that time “where the government was encouraging the operation of schools by voluntary agencies.”³² By the end of nineteenth century, the church-state relationship on education apparently had already crystallised as the government and the Christian missions “had already consolidated a system of education in Hong Kong which was firmly based on a spirit of mutual respect and independence.”³³

Undoubtedly, Christian education played a crucial role in the development of the colony’s educational system. A significant impact of Christian education on Hong Kong society was the creation of a core of Chinese elite educated in the schools run by missionary societies. The importance of these elite schools in Hong Kong could be easily observed from their alumni’s achievement and social and political influence in the society.³⁴ In fact, students who had learned English at missionary schools were highly sought after within the public sector to serve as translators and advisers and in the business sector as compradors. They acted as middle-persons between things Chinese and things foreign.³⁵ Graduates of elite missionary schools climbed the ladder of social mobility in Hong Kong in the nineteenth century, often assuming prominent positions in society, such as membership on the Legislative Council.³⁶

Logically, the graduates of missionary-run schools not only became the English-speaking elite bridging the gap between the non-Chinese-speaking foreign community and the non-English-speaking Chinese community but also became members of local churches. For instance, Wong Shing, who became the first juror in

³¹ Brown, *Turmoil in Hong Kong on the Eve of Communist Rule*, 144.

³² David Walter Vikner, “The Role of Christian Missions in the Establishment of Hong Kong’s System of Education,” (Unpublished Doctor of Education dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College, 1987), 310-11.

³³ *Ibid.*, 313.

³⁴ Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 22-23. For instance, the first class of the Morrison Education Society School included Yung Wing, the initiator of the Chinese Educational Mission, Wong Sheng, one of the pioneers in Chinese newspaper journalism, Wong Fun, the first Chinese graduate of a Western medical school, and Tong Mow-chee, known in his youth as Tong A-chick, later associated with the China Merchants’ Steam Navigation Company and other business and industrial enterprises in China.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 52. Smith explains that the “compradores were influential in proposing, capitalizing, and managing the modernization and industrialization of China in the latter half of the century. They had received their business training and acquired their capital by functioning as ‘middle [persons]’ between the European merchant and the Chinese employees and business contacts of the foreign firm. It was a strategic position which called for a foot in two worlds. A background of ability in the English language and an understanding of European thought and manners usually ensured a rapid rise as a comprador.” (63) For details, see Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 52-74.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 139. For details, see Smith, *Chinese Christians*, chapter 6, “The Emergence of a Chinese Elite in Hong Kong,” 103-38, and chapter 7, “The English-educated Chinese Elite in Nineteen-century Hong Kong,” 139-71.

1858, was a deacon of the Chinese congregation of the London Missionary Society. Ng Choy, also known as Ng Achoy, alias Wu Ting-fang, who was baptised while a student at St. Paul's College, graduated from law school in England and came back to Hong Kong to become the first Chinese appointed to the Legislative Council in 1880. The second Chinese appointment to the Council was Wong Shing in 1884.³⁷ Among the graduates of missionary run schools, Dr. Sun Yat-sen later became National Father of the Republic of China and is arguably the most famous Chinese Christian in history. Dr. Sun graduated from Queen's College³⁸ and Hong Kong University Medical School and was a member of the Congregational Church, founded by Rev. Charles Hagar in 1883.³⁹ According to Smith's analysis, Dr. Sun first found supporters for his revolutionary cause within his elite circle in the Chinese Protestant church. Although the first generation of missionary-school students "were of humble origins, but owing to their facility in English and knowledge of Western ways, they were often able to accumulate wealth and climb to positions of leadership."⁴⁰ They had the advantage of being drawn out of the traditional Chinese cultural structure and exposed to Christian thought and Western ideas. Dr. Sun said that he owed his revolutionary inspiration to his school days in Hong Kong.⁴¹

The most significant and lasting consequences of the mechanism formed by the educational system have been made visible in political, social, and ecclesiological arenas, which have profoundly influenced the ecology of the church-state relationship in colonial Hong Kong. Carl Smith points out the underlining cause of the predicament of the church-state relationship in Hong Kong:

The Chinese Christian accepted this role and became a part of the colonial establishment...a portion of the Christian community had become wealthy, thus further qualifying them for *élite* leadership. Their wealth and their prominence in the community made them important figures in the Church. They served on church councils

³⁷ Ibid., 192-193.

³⁸ Ibid., 142-143. Queen's College is formerly named as Hong Kong Government Central School, founded in 1862. The other most important elite schools in colonial Hong Kong in the nineteenth century were: The Morrison Education Society School, 1839-49; The Anglo-Chinese College, 1819-56; St. Paul's College, 1851; Diocesan Native Female Training School (Diocesan Female School), 1860; Diocesan Male School, 1869; St. Joseph's College, 1876; American Board Missionary English Evening School, 1883; St. Andrew's School, 1855-62.

³⁹ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 96-97.

⁴¹ Extract from the report in the *Hong Kong Daily Press* of 21st February 1923 of a speech by Dr. Sun Yat-sen to the students of Hong Kong University, 20th February 1923, in G. B. Endacott and A. Hinton, *Fragrant Harbour: A Short History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1962), 4.

and were on the boards of church institutions. When members of the Church have both an economic and status stake in the established order, this tends to blunt the prophetic role of the Church and may be an impediment to the Church acting as an agent for social change.⁴²

It would seem that the overlapping roles of being the church leaders and social leaders might foster a tradition within the churches in Hong Kong which was less socially concerned, less confrontational, less prophetic, and less critical toward the government. According to Smith, many Hong Kong Chinese Christians in the late 1800s were members of the elite and hence were a part of the colonial establishment. They became leaders, both in the society and the church, because of their professional careers and business involvement. In other words, as Christians leaders served as the bridge between the colonial government and the Chinese public, they could hardly foster the prophetic role of the church. They would have found it embarrassing to speak out against their fellow elite leaders in the government and their policies. It is exactly the same dynamic described previously in the discourse of "The Support of the Chinese Elite" by Lau Siu-kai. Furthermore, it must be remembered that a harmonious "*kuan-hsi*" (network) is essential in Chinese culture; thus, it was only natural for leaders of the early church in Hong Kong to seek equilibrium and avoid confrontation. The prophetic tradition of the church was either intentionally or unintentionally suppressed and not allowed to develop. Thus, within the resulting situation, a clear embodiment of administrative absorption of politics, based upon the dynamics of patronage and *kuan-hsi* can be clearly observed.

Dependency Mentality of Christians

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the expansion of the *Sheng Kung Hui* school system was the most noticeable among the Protestant denominations after the correspondence between Bishop Hall and the Secretary of the Board of Education in 1950.⁴³ The church and local Christian organisations came to be the largest service providers in the sectors of education and social services in Hong Kong before the handover of 1997. Accordingly, it is no exaggeration to say that in the past one hundred and fifty years, Protestant and Catholic churches have maintained a monopoly on the campus religious ministry in Hong Kong, since a church or chapel

⁴² Smith, *Chinese Christians*, 193.

⁴³ See the section of "Bishop Ronald Owen Hall and Sir Alexander Grantham on Christian Social Services" in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

could be established on school premises and the pupils as well as their family would be the potential targets of evangelism. In other words, the high growth rate of Christian schools resulted in creating a vast field of evangelism and may largely account for the rapid growth of Christianity in the territory after 1949, particularly within the Protestant church. The uncritical acceptance or the privileged positions of Christian schools illustrates how Hong Kong's Christian community as a whole accepts the mentality of the influential elite leadership and seldom questions the status quo. Christian leaders, both pastors and laity, have particularly enjoyed the privilege, respect, social and political power established in the colonial age. They have become so accustomed to the social situation that they would not support change. The Rev. Kwok Nai-wang discloses an alarming situation among many ministers who are superintendents of schools, directors of social services centres, and trustees of hospitals. Some of them candidly admitted to him how their posts had granted them tremendous influence, guaranteeing them the opportunity to do more for the cause of Jesus Christ and said they had no intention of giving up their positions.⁴⁴ The Rev. Kwok goes on to point out that many church leaders in Hong Kong have acquired a "dependency syndrome,"⁴⁵ since most of the churches' educational ministry were first supported by missionary societies and later by the government's assistance and subsidy, begun during Bishop Hall's era.⁴⁶

In short, the dependency mentality and dependency syndrome of Christians in Hong Kong are the natural products of the exercise of administrative absorption of politics. It is clear that patronage and *kuan-hsi* are two important factors contributing to the accomplishment of administrative absorption of politics. Chan Shun-hing firmly asserts that the church's dependency syndrome has made it incapable of fulfilling its prophetic duties.⁴⁷ This situation appears to be similar to the predicament which the elite Chinese Christians experienced in the nineteenth and early twentieth

⁴⁴ Kwok, *Hong Kong Church Faces A New Millenium*, 74.

⁴⁵ Kwok, *A Church in Transition*, 13-14.

⁴⁶ For instance, a law was passed in 1981 which allows the government to grant a church a piece of land in new satellite towns (sub-urban areas) in order to build church premises, and one of the conditions is that a type of social service, approved by the Social Welfare Department, is provided within the new premises; see Kwok, *Hong Kong Church Faces a New Millenium*, 139-40. Another favorite policy is that after the government has approved a church's plan to build a secondary school in a designated area, it will grant the church a piece of land, accompanied with a fund for eighty percent of the capital costs, which includes the cost to build a fully furnished and equipped school premises, including a chapel; see Kwok, *A Church in Transition*, 13. Furthermore, the government is responsible for the expenses of the social centres and schools, including salary of all the staff and teachers.

⁴⁷ Leung and Chan, *Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong 1950-2000*, 45.

centuries, as mentioned previously. Thus, we can conclude that Christian churches, like other social organisations, were absorbed into the establishment by the colonial government as a major means of maintaining Hong Kong's social and political equilibrium.

Concepts and Models Explicating Hong Kong Church-State Relations

Various socio-political models have been offered to describe Hong Kong's church-state relationship in the past. A comment concerning the church-state relationship in Hong Kong made by Leo Goodstadt, the Chief of the Central Policy Group, and advisor to Chris Patten, the last Governor of Hong Kong, provides some insight into the deviant type of Christianity existing in Hong Kong. He describes the relationship of both Protestant and Catholic churches as parasitic, since they have been living on the colonial government.⁴⁸ The term "parasite," while a non-academic definition, depicts vividly and accurately the church-state relationship in Hong Kong from a political perspective. Another critic has described the church a "contractor" of the colonial government. The latter provided financial support to the former to accomplish its goals.⁴⁹ These metaphors clearly point to a symptom resulting from the church's involvement in education and social services.

Chan Shun-hing, writing from a sociological perspective, constructs a model of "institutional channelling," derived from John McCarthy, David Britt, and Mark Wolfson's theory, on the study of church-state relations in Hong Kong.⁵⁰ Chan

⁴⁸ Mau Chi-wang, "Cong Yingguo Fei Zhi Hua Mai Xing Zhongguo De Yi guo Lian Zhi: Xianggang Jidujiao Jiaohui Dui 'Tong Zhi Zhe' De Taidu Yu Fanxing," ["From British De-colonization to China's One Country Two Systems: The Attitude and Reflection of the Protestant Church in Hong Kong toward 'Ruler'"] *REFLECTION* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong), 24 (July 1993): 25-26.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁵⁰ Leung and Chan, *Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong 1950-2000*, 18-21. Chan has developed three sets of concept on church-state relations of Hong Kong: institutional channelling, channelised partnership, and political absorption of religion, since 1995. Institutional channelling means that the government regulates and directs the organizations of the society to follow the blueprint for governmental development, using all kinds of law, policy, regulation, subsidy, and allowance; see Chan, "Xianggang Zhengjiao Quanxi Falzhan De Qianjing," ["The Future of the Church-state Relations in Hong Kong"], 142. Channelised partnership means the church and the government are in a partnership in which neither is a threat to the other. The government regards the church as a weight to maintain equilibrium and stability in society by providing education, social and medical services. The rationale of the church's involvement is to witness to Jesus and to evangelize through their provided services; see Chan, "Xianggang Zheng Jiao Guanxi De San Zhong Moshi," ["Three Patterns of Church-State Relationship in Hong Kong"], 4-5. His argument on political absorption of religion is based on his observation that during the consultation process for *The Basic Law* that some famous religious figures were assigned as the members of two committees, the Basic Law Drafting Committee and the Basic Law Consultative Committee. It was considered as an act of political absorption in order to strengthen the legitimacy for future governance of the HKSAR. In his

explains that the channelling mechanisms, established by the United States government, “effectively conditioned the activities and development of social movement organization (SMO) in the country, which finally led to a narrowing and standardizing of the structural forms of many SMOs.” Such kind of state channelling mechanisms “have successfully created structural isomorphism in SMOs and led them to follow orthodox tactics and set moderate goals of collective action.” The operations and accomplishment of the mechanisms, to a significant extent, depend on the government’s “incentives by favouring certain kinds of organisations, tactical approaches, and collective goals.”⁵¹ Applying the model within the context of Hong Kong, Chan perceives that the Catholic and Protestant churches acted like SMOs, having complex institutional structures and their own agendas for social participation, including an intense commitment to education, medical, and social services. Meanwhile, the government’s large-scale commitment to funding and providing of resources discouraged subsidised churches and para-church organisations from criticising the government or encouraged them to remain mute. The Christian churches are described as being “trapped in the State’s channelling mechanism net.”⁵² In his conclusion, Chan rightly contends:

Their faithful performance as a government contractor provided Christian churches with both the opportunity and funds to expand services to Hong Kong society and directly strengthen evangelization work.⁵³

Nevertheless, two aspects of Chan’s argument seem to be debatable: Firstly, the church-state relationship in Hong Kong “was formulated without prior planning by either side, the major force behind it was the common desire to maintain public order and prevent the spread of Communism.”⁵⁴ However, the previous discourse on British strategy in Malaya in the 1950s in Chapter Two has shown that making use of Christian social services, including education and medical services, was a common practice of the British colonial governments in Asia and was regarded as an effective tool against

footnote, Chan says that “political absorption of religion” is different from Ambrose Y. C. King’s “administrative absorption of politics,” but he does not explain what and how the differences are, though he admits implicitly that his idea is derived from King’s; see Chan, “*Xianggang Zhengjiao Quanxi Falzhan De Qianjing*,” [“The Future of the Church-state Relations in Hong Kong”] footnote 11, 148.

⁵¹ Ibid., 18.

⁵² Ibid., 21.

⁵³ Ibid., 46.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

the spread of Communism.⁵⁵ Thus, it is reasonable to infer that the formation of the church-state alliance in Hong Kong was by no means a coincidence or an isolated issue, but represented a colonial policy based upon a common understanding among the British colonial officers.

Secondly, the patron-client relationship “aptly describes the relationship between mainstream Protestant churches and the government. However, it cannot be used as successfully to describe the relationship between the evangelical churches and the government.”⁵⁶ However, judging from the relationship between Lam Chi-fung and Sir Alexander Grantham, Baptist churches, although considered to be within the evangelical group in Hong Kong, were obviously keen on establishing a patron-client relationship with the colonial government as they were eager for acquiring government resources for the expansion of social services, particularly in education. Hence, in this case, the patron-client model can be aptly applied to both the mainstream Protestant churches and to certain evangelical churches.⁵⁷

Church-World Relationship as Expounded by O'Donovan, Hauerwas and Yoder

After reviewing the socio-political models proposed by scholars to explicate the church-state relationship within colonial Hong Kong, a theological appraisal of the issue is needed. Such an appraisal will be made from the perspective of certain theologians in the post-World War II West, including Oliver O'Donovan, a British evangelical; Stanley Hauerwas, an American Methodist; and John Howard Yoder, an American Mennonite. All these theologians have been strongly influenced by Karl

⁵⁵ See the section of “British Colonial Policies in Asia – Malaya’s Experience” in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

⁵⁶ Leung and Chan, *Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong 1950-2000*, 45.

⁵⁷ There is no definition of the mainstream Protestant churches and evangelical churches in Hong Kong in Chan’s discourse. Broadly speaking, the former are the churches established by the European missionary societies, such as *Sheng Kung Hui* (Anglican Church of Hong Kong), Church of Christ in China, Methodist and Wesley Church, Lutheran Church, which has established a close relationship with the colonial government since the nineteenth century. The latter mainly refers to the churches founded by the missionaries from North America and the independent Chinese churches originated from the mainland China before 1949, such as Baptist church, The Christian and Missionary Alliance Church, Evangelical Free Church. In fact, an interesting phenomenon is that almost all Chinese Christians claim themselves as evangelicals. I have observed two reasons: firstly, the labels “liberal” and “conservative” or “fundamentalist” have a connotation of extreme among Chinese Christians, who culturally and traditionally prefer to be moderate; secondly, the term “evangelical” may imply that they are the group who are zealous for evangelism. For further information of the mainstream Protestant churches of Hong Kong, see “About the Hong Kong Christian Council,” available from <http://www.hkcc.org.hk/eng/council.htm>; Internet; accessed 29 July 2004.

Barth, yet they differ widely on their understanding of the relationship between the church and the world, representing two extremes of the spectrum of twentieth century Protestant theology, ranging from a Christendom theology to a post-Christendom theology.

O'Donovan's Concept of Church-World Relationship

The Desire of the Nations reveals two prominent characteristics in Oliver O'Donovan's theology which form the prime foundation of O'Donovan's discourse on his political theology. Regarding the use of scripture, O'Donovan calls his project "an architectonic hermeneutic" by which constructs his theme throughout the Bible. The rationale of his approach is that

If the Scriptures are to be read as a proclamation, not merely as a mine for random sociological analogies dug out from the ancient world, then a unifying conceptual structure is necessary that will connect political themes with the history of salvation as a whole. Political hermeneutic has to yield theology...an account of God's dealings which has the authenticity to command Christian faith and conscience. Otherwise it will never be more than a fashion for the idle.⁵⁸

Stanley Hauerwas praises O'Donovan's use of scripture, declaring that "his political theology is unreservedly scriptural in its content and orientation."⁵⁹ Regarding his Christology, O'Donovan's overarching assertion is that Jesus Christ is the core link between Israel and all nations and between the church and the world. This is to say that Israel is the embodiment of God's salvation in history and Jesus and His church are the manifestation of the salvation in the world. He explains that

For in the church's understanding Israel's political categories were the paradigm for all others. Jesus belonged to Israel; and Israel was, for him as for his followers, the theatre of God's self-disclosure as the ruler of nations. Always implied in the hope of a new national life for Israel was the hope of a restored world order. The future of the one nation was a prism through which the faithful looked to see the future of all nations.⁶⁰

Therefore, O'Donovan claims that a Christology must be a decisive factor in

⁵⁸ Oliver O'Donovan, *The Desire of the Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 22.

⁵⁹ Stanley Hauerwas and James Foder, "Remaining in Babylon: Oliver O'Donovan's Defense of Christendom," in Stanley M. Hauerwas, *Wilderness Wanderings: Probing Twentieth-Century Theology and Philosophy* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1997), 200.

⁶⁰ O'Donovan, *The Desire of the Nations*, 23.

constructing a political theology:

We cannot discuss the question of 'secular' government, the question from which Western political theology has too often been content to start, unless we approach it historically, from a Christology that has been displayed in narrative form as Gospel.⁶¹

Regarding strong emphases on the Scriptures and Christology, O'Donovan, John Howard Yoder, and Karl Barth can be considered allies, although they differ in other areas.

Before investigating O'Donovan's concept of the relationship between the church and world, let us first briefly survey his understanding of the church and secondly, his understanding of Christendom and world.

1. The Church

Since O'Donovan's political theology is Christological, there are two basic assertions about "Christ's rule in the church." The first is "the political character of the church's social existence," and the second is "the hidden and undisclosed status of the rule which constitutes it."⁶²

Firstly, the meaning of "the church as a political society" is that "it is brought into being and held in being, not by a special function it has to fulfil, but by a government that it obeys in everything." O'Donovan declares:

It is ruled and authorised by the ascended Christ alone and supremely; it therefore has its own authority; and it is not answerable to any other authority that may attempt to subsume it.⁶³

O'Donovan is clear in his assertion that Jesus Christ is the only supreme authority of the church. Since the church is only accountable to Jesus, it should be free from intervention by other authorities. The church's beginning is at Pentecost, the time when God "authorises the church by uniting it with the authorisation of Christ."⁶⁴

Secondly, as the ascended Christ is the head of the church, His invisible status makes the political character of the church hidden, only to be discerned by faith. O'Donovan elaborates on the internal and external tensions faced by the church:

⁶¹ Ibid., 133.

⁶² Ibid., 159.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 161.

Experienced from within, the church is a community of obedience and freedom, a society under the law of Christ, heedful of his commands and direction and enjoying the freedom from all other lordships that he has won for it. Look at from outside, it presents the appearance of a functional religious organism rather than a political one, having no visible source of government and right save that which is from time to time borrowed from or imposed by other rulers.⁶⁵

According to O'Donovan, there is a contrast "between political identity as conferred by Christ upon the church and the identity of political societies as we customarily experience them."⁶⁶ In fact, his words create a tension that has inevitably caused confusion about the identity politically and ecclesiologically among Christians. O'Donovan's response to this issue is that "if governmental authority is redistributed political identity undergoes change. But the church's ministry can split, fight and excommunicate itself without the church's changing its identity."⁶⁷ In other words, while the political identity of Christians and the church may change, their identity and unity in Christ will never change.

Finally, O'Donovan describes "the church's political character as a community ruled by Christ." He intends to construct the "catholic identity of the church," derived from "the progress of the Spirit's own mission."⁶⁸ Based on the relation of the church to Christ and the authorisation of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, O'Donovan calls it "a *recapitulation* of the Christ-event, by which the community participates in the acts and experiences which the Representative first undertook on its behalf alone." The O'Donovan's rationale and dynamic of the church's identity is depicted as follows:

The shape of the pre-structured church, then, is the shape of the Christ-event become[s] the dynamics of a social identity. In describing that shape, we may follow the heuristic guide we have deployed in speaking of the Christ-event itself: the four moments of Advent, Passion, Restoration and Exaltation shape a society which continually gathers, suffers, rejoices and speaks.⁶⁹

Consequently, the political character and the catholic identity of the church are fourfold: in response to "the Advent of Christ," to "the Passion of Christ," to "Christ's

⁶⁵ Ibid., 166.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 169.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 171.

Restoration,” and to “Christ’s Exaltation,” the church is “a gathering community,” “a suffering community,” “a glad community,” and “a community that speaks the words of God.”

2. Christendom and the World

According to O’Donovan’s analysis, the era of Christendom lies between AD 313, the Edict of Milan, and 1791, the First Amendment to the US Constitution.⁷⁰ “The First Amendment” is considered to mark “the symbolic end of Christendom,” because it stood for “prohibiting the ‘establishment’ and protecting the ‘free exercise’ of religion.”⁷¹ The First Amendment is regarded as “the paradigm assertion” of the doctrine of separation of church and state. The intent of the doctrine “is to deny at least one element in the Christendom idea: that the state should offer deliberate assistance to the church’s mission.”⁷²

O’Donovan defines the term ‘Christendom’ as “a historical idea” that is “the idea of a professedly Christian secular political order, and the history of that idea in practice.”⁷³ He elaborates on the concept by saying:

Christendom is an *era*, an era in which the truth of Christianity was taken to be a truth secular politics...In the course of this period the idea of Christendom developed and underwent corrections and elaborations; sometimes it was taken to imply more, sometimes less. Yet the idea is always there, giving a unity to the whole era which entitles it to the name ‘Christendom’: it is the idea of a confessionally Christian government, at once ‘secular’...and obedient to Christ, a promise of the age of his unhindered rule.⁷⁴

The term ‘secular’ is defined against the backdrop of “a doctrine of two ages,” meaning that the “passing age of the principalities and powers has overlapped with the coming age of God’s Kingdom.” It is a kind of “eschatological fusion.” Thus, the term “secular institutions” is restricted to the “passing age,” which does not “represent the arrival of the new age and the rule of God.”⁷⁵ Moreover, O’Donovan remarks that the opposite term of ‘secular’ is neither ‘sacred’ nor ‘spiritual’, but rather

⁷⁰ Ibid., 195.

⁷¹ Ibid., 244.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid., 195

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 211.

‘eternal’.⁷⁶ Applying the term “secular” to political authorities implies that “they are not agents of Christ, but are marked for displacement when the rule of God in Christ is finally disclosed.”⁷⁷ Consequently, the role of the “secular” is to allow Christ’s final victory to be manifested in the world. O’Donovan explains the dynamic between the political authorities and Christ:

They are Christ’s conquered enemies; yet they have an indirect testimony to give, bearing the marks of his sovereignty imposed upon them, negating their pretensions and evoking their acknowledgment. Like the surface of a planet pocked with craters by the bombardment it receives from space, the governments of the passing age show the impact of Christ’s dawning glory. This witness of the secular is the central core of Christendom.⁷⁸

What is the purpose of the existence of Christendom? According to O’Donovan, “the goal of Christendom is ‘After Christendom’.”⁷⁹ The inner (dialectic) dynamic of Christendom is that the “church demanded the obedience of society, and it demanded the obedience of society’s ruler.”⁸⁰ It is because Christendom aims at the “submission of rulers” and “it prepares the way for something beyond itself, the replacement of the rulers by the Christ.” Therefore, “the submission of the rulers is not an end in itself, but a moment in the gathering of many societies into one.”⁸¹ Christendom then becomes “the transition from the rule of the kings to the rule of the Christ.”⁸² It serves as a necessary and inevitable transitional stage between the unredeemed world and the redeemed world.

The legacy of Christendom is a noticeable assertion in O’Donovan’s discourse. He contends that the legacy of Christendom is politically and socially the principal heritage of the Western world, “which came together in a decisively influential way in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries” and is “still apparent in the institutions of Europe and America.”⁸³ According to O’Donovan, the legacy is not merely “the work of the radicalised Christian consciousness of the Reformation,” but the fruit of the much-aged tradition:

What has become clear...is that the roots of this new organization of

⁷⁶ Ibid., 211.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 211-12.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 212.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 243.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid., 226.

political priorities run deep into the centuries that preceded it...but through the earlier scholastics back into the Carolingian and patristic eras...but through the various concrete forms of life in the Christian community: corporations, monastic communities, canon law, penance and so on.⁸⁴

The Western political culture is considered to be a major part of the legacy of Christendom, including conceptions such as, “democracy,” “judicial function,” “representative legitimacy,” and “constitutional law.”⁸⁵ Among these concepts, O’Donovan specifically points out that the “legal-constitutional conception is the essence of Christendom’s legacy.”⁸⁶ This is true mainly because various politically significant notions are derived from it, such as, “sovereignty,” “nation,” and “international law”:

Within the context of Christian constitutionalism, sovereignty...had a clearly defined reference to that office of state which...ensured the lawfulness and authority of the whole. Sovereignty within the state was compatible with...the rule of divine law over the state...under the influence of contract-theory...the ruler’s primary responsibility ceased to be thought of as being to divine law, but rather to the people whose supposed act constituted him. This act of popular will came to be thought of as the source of all law and constitutional order...‘Sovereignty’ became a corporate personality, or source of will, which gave the body politic its identity.⁸⁷

O’Donovan maintains that the legacy of Christendom, accordingly, can be reckoned as the root of the tradition of democracy and rule-of-law in Western world.

Society is by nature a ‘secular’ reality. O’Donovan describes society as “an acephalous organism, driven by unconscious forces from within...of manipulation, but no sense of subject of responsible action.”⁸⁸ Thus, it may “make no moral or religious decisions on its own part, but leave the whole range of such decisions open for its members to make.”⁸⁹ Since society is an acephalous community, “political theology is bound to replace it with a better,” and “the legacy of Christendom, the normative political culture” must be the guide.⁹⁰ O’Donovan contends that society may have an opportunity to become governed by God’s law through the church’s

⁸⁴ Ibid., 226.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 226-240.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 240.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 240-41.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 246-47.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 247.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 249.

missionaries and “the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus.”⁹¹ He uses the Christmas Revolution of 1989 in Romania and the collapse of the Communist regimes of the East-Central Europe as the confirmation of his statement. He claims that

We have had an opportunity to see such pressures exerted by the faithful witness of the church in the revolutions...Of course, such events offer multiple levels of explanation...But for all the contingencies there is a telling theological significance in the role the church played in that event, which exemplifies the role of the church has played, usually with less drama, in the history of Europe and America.⁹²

Therefore, in the civil society of Christendom where society is “shaped by the presence of the church,” the relationship between the church and society is “a kind of penumbra to the church,” which means society is a “radiation” of the church rather than a “participation” in it.⁹³ In O’Donovan’s opinion, the interaction between the church and society is dialectical and positive:

Society in this form has constantly been challenged and invited by the proclamation of the church; it has been heedful, but not wholly obedient; it has been claimed for the Kingdom, but not sacramentally made part of it. It has respect for the community of Christ...to the point where it can lost the sense of the difference and conceives itself as being the church. Yet it is not the church. Pending the final disclosure of the Kingdom of God, the church and society are in a dialectical relation, distant from each other as well as identified. Though many members of a society have decided for the Gospel, society has not yet decided.⁹⁴

Hauerwas’ Concept of Church-World Relationship

Max Stackhouse, in his essay responding to Hauerwas’ *Dispatches from the Front* (1995), has the following comments:

Stanley Hauerwas hates liberalism. He hates liberal theology, liberal ethics, liberal churches, liberal politics, liberal economics, and liberal democracy. He uses military terms...to signal that he is part of a great battle against liberalism, waged on behalf of virtue, character and pacifism. His weapons in this battle are narrative theology and postmodern philosophy (plus some bluster)...⁹⁵

⁹¹ Ibid., 249.

⁹² Ibid., 250.

⁹³ Ibid., 251.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Max Stackhouse, “Liberalism Dispatched vs. Liberalism Engaged,” *The Christian Century*, October 18 (1995): 962.

Some people do not want to be forced to give an account of the faith that is within them, or do not know how to, or think that it is improper even to ask for such an account. They like Hauerwas's convenient philosophic conviction that since all claims are equally without foundation, religious claims are immune to rational criticism. They want theos without logos.⁹⁶

Stackhouse's suggestions simply tell us a fact that Hauerwas is one of the most controversial theologians in the contemporary western world. We can expect that Hauerwas' concept of church-world relation is in a mode which is both idiosyncratic and challenging. However, Hauerwas seems to decline to develop a systematic theology. Samuel Wells offers an explanation that Hauerwas "fears this kind of disembodied scholarship can become a substitute for living the gospel through the disciplined practices of a particular Christian community."⁹⁷

1. The Church – Its Meaning

Hauerwas' conception of church-world relation is similar that of John Howard Yoder. Hauerwas acclaims that Yoder "has done more than anyone to reestablish the significance and primacy of church-world categories," and Yoder's elucidation in *The Christian Witness to the State* is regarded as a classic example on this issue.⁹⁸ Yoder insists that the church in the realm of church-world relations must remember that "Christians are distinct from the world."⁹⁹ According to Hauerwas, Christians are given various names which are interchangeable, such as "a sanctified people of peace," "the initiator of the kingdom of peace," and "God's peaceable people."¹⁰⁰ What those names commonly emphasize is "peace," embodied by forgiveness. Christians are required to be "a sanctified people of peace who can live the life of the forgiven."¹⁰¹ Forgiveness is absolutely crucial to the concept of the peaceable kingdom and the core of the peace. In fact, Hauerwas points out that "the command of forgive our enemies" is the most significant differentiation between Christian ethics

⁹⁶ Ibid., 964.

⁹⁷ Samuel Wells, *Transforming Fate into Destiny: The Theological Ethics of Stanley Hauerwas*, foreword by Stanley Hauerwas (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster Press, 1998), 1.

⁹⁸ Stanley Hauerwas, *The Peaceable Kingdom: A Primer in Christian Ethics* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983), 160; also see footnote 21 in Chapter 4 of the book.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 60.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. These three terms are in page numbers: 60, 93, and 60, respectively.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

and human ethics.¹⁰² Hauerwas reminds Christians not to be complacent about their status.¹⁰³ What Christians can claim is that we are “the redeemed,” “not the holy people.”¹⁰⁴ Sanctification does not imply any sense of superiority of Christians, but only refers to our calling from God:

Their sanctification is not meant to sustain the judgment that they are “better” than non-Christians, but rather that they are charged to be faithful to God’s calling of them as foretaste of the kingdom. In this sense sanctification is a life of service and sacrifice that the world cannot account for on its own grounds.¹⁰⁵

Undoubtedly, what Jesus Christ has achieved in His life is more than just to be recognized as “the great exemplar of that peace.” His purpose is to enable us to know and to embody God’s peace in our lives. However, we are justified because Christ has prepared the way for us to follow.¹⁰⁶ Hence, Hauerwas maintains that “justification is only another way of talking about sanctification,” as “it requires our transformation by initiation into the new community made possible by Jesus’ death and resurrection.”¹⁰⁷ Since the terms sanctification and justification are “abstractions,” Hauerwas clarifies their meanings:

“Sanctification” is but a way of reminding us of the kind of journey we must undertake if we are to make the story of Jesus our story. “Justification” is but a reminder of the character of that story – namely, what God has done for us by providing us with a path to follow.¹⁰⁸

This is to say the essence of being God’s peaceable people is centred in the story of Jesus Christ. We must undertake the story and make it as our own story, always remembering the story’s character in order to practice it. We must have faith and be faithful to it, as Jesus has done, paving the way for us to follow. The character of the story embodied within our lives reflects qualities of peace, nonviolence and forgiveness.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, we are responsible to learn “to make the story of God our story.” We do not need to fear that “we will lose our autonomy” and “we may have no self, no individuality left.” Ironically, “the more we learn to make the story of

¹⁰² Ibid., 161; also see footnote 22 of Chapter 4 of *The Peaceable Kingdom*.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 60.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 94.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 60.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 93.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 94.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 60.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 94.

Jesus our story, the more unique, the more individual, we become—thus, the example of the saints.” Hauerwas elaborates the importance of the skills of learning related to the formation of the story of God as our story:

True stories thus require extensive training in skills commensurate with that story. The Christian claim that life is a pilgrimage is a way of indicating the necessary and never-ending growth of the self in learning to live in the story of Christ. He is our master and from him we learn the skills to live faithful to the fact that this is God's world and we are God's creatures.¹¹⁰

2. The Church – Its Significance

Regarding the role of the church, Hauerwas asserts, firstly, “the significance of the church as the embodiment of the necessary practices to sustain Christian affirmation of God as Trinity”; and secondly, maintains that “outside the church there is no salvation knowledge of God.”¹¹¹ The meaning of “there is no salvation outside the church” is that “the church as a political community necessary for our salvation.” Christians’ belief about God “does not, cannot, and should not save” unless they have church life.¹¹² Hauerwas claims:

Our beliefs or better our convictions, only make sense as they are embodied in a political community we call church...our sense of God, our very understanding of God, is correlative to moral sources, or as I would prefer, practices. For Christians, without the church there is no possibility of salvation and even less of morality and politics.¹¹³

In other words, the church is the only locus for salvation and it is fundamental in Hauerwas’ thesis. The church is indispensable in the fulfilment of God’s salvation. It is because the world does not and cannot know salvation without the church’s existence. Hauerwas says:

Rather it is to say that salvation is a political alternative that the world cannot know apart from the existence of a concrete people called church. Put more dramatically, you cannot even know you need saving without the church's being a political alternative.¹¹⁴

More importantly, Hauerwas regards the church as the only embodiment of

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 95.

¹¹¹ Stanley Hauerwas, *After Christendom? How the Church is to Behave If Freedom, Justice, and a Christian Nation are Bad Ideas*, with a new preface by the author (Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon Press, 1999), 16.

¹¹² Ibid., 26.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 35.

God's salvation and thus having great significance:

Without the church the world literally has no hope of salvation since the church is necessary for the world to know it is part of a story that it cannot know without the church.¹¹⁵

Hauerwas believes that God's salvation and the church share a common character, which is their political nature. Based on Denny Weaver's analysis of Constantinian Christians, Hauerwas points out that the early Christians assumed that salvation "was about the rescue from, as well as the defeat of, those powers."¹¹⁶ He elaborates on the nature and relationship between salvation and the church:

Salvation was cosmic, as in Christ's resurrection the very universe was storied by God's purposes. The church did not have an incidental part in God's story but was necessary for the salvation wrought in Christ. The church was not and is not a people gathered together in order to remember an impressive but dead founder. Rather the church is those gathered from the nations to testify to the resurrected Lord.¹¹⁷

Hence, if we say, outside the church there is no salvation, it is a claim "about the very nature of salvation," that "salvation is God's work to restore all creation to the Lordship of Christ." The very essence of the claim is that we are "part of a story that could not be known apart from exemplification in the lives of people in a concrete community."¹¹⁸

In summary, the church, the community called God's peaceable people, is formed by the redeemed sinners called out to live under the authority of the scripture. We, as a forgiven people, are commanded to learn how to be a people of forgiveness in the midst of the deceptive, violence-oriented world. The story of Christ's death and resurrection is the essence of their sanctified lives. Most importantly, there is no salvation outside the church, as it is the only embodiment of salvation. Without the church, the world does not and cannot know God's salvation.

3. Church-World Relationship

Hauerwas' understanding of church-world relation is that the church knows what the world is but the world does not know itself. Therefore, the first task of the

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 36.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 37.

church is not to make a better world, but to tell the world what it is and identify its problems. This view differs from Oliver O'Donovan's view as expressed in *The Desire of the Nations*, that the church-world relation is dialectical and positive.¹¹⁹

According to Hauerwas,

...[T]he first task of the church is not to make the world more just but to make the world the world is an eschatological claim. The very notion that you could write a history of the world is a notion that can only come from the presumption that a body of people exists called church who know the world better the world can know itself. After all, without the church being a people who are universally connected across the nations, how else would the world know it is the world?¹²⁰

In Hauerwas' view, the church and the world are by nature in a conflicting relationship. However, Christians, as God's peaceable people, have learned from scriptures that "as a forgiven people they must also be able to forgive," as we believe scripture reflects "the very nature of God and his will for their lives." This is the authority of scripture for Christians.¹²¹ Since the narratives in scripture "manifest the God whose very nature is to forgive," Christians are expected to "learn how to be a people morally capable of forgiveness and thus worthy of continuing to carry the story of God we find authorized by scripture."¹²² Christians are like Martians living in this world, as their practice of forgiveness is totally alien to world history.

Hauerwas describes the violent nature of the world as:

The world, under the illusion that power and violence rule history, assumes that it has no need to be forgiven. Part of the meaning of the "world," therefore, is it is that which assumes it needs no scripture, since it lives not by memory made possible by forgiveness, but by power.¹²³

Hauerwas perceives the church as being a "particular dangerous" position as the world, embodied in the political history of this century "has perverted and co-opted the Christian faith for its ungodly purposes."¹²⁴

"Soft difference," proposed by Miroslav Volf, is a term adopted by Hauerwas regarding the relation between the church and the world. Hauerwas explains that a

¹¹⁹ O'Donovan, *The Desire of the Nations*, 251.

¹²⁰ Stanley Hauerwas and William H. Willimon, *Where Resident Aliens Live: Exercises for Christian Practice* (Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon Press, 1996), 46-47.

¹²¹ Stanley Hauerwas, *A Community of Character: Toward a Constructive Christian Social Ethics* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), 68-69.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 69.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Hauerwas and Willimon, *Where Resident Aliens Live*, 54.

“soft” difference does not mean a “weak” difference. It does not refer to a difference which is “open to threats or coercion,” nor which implies “the world is more evil than we,” nor which assumes “we are redeemed and the world is fallen.”¹²⁵ Hauerwas asserts that both the church and the world are “fallen and redeemed by the cross of Christ.” The difference is that “the church knows this and is attempting to live in the light of that knowledge, whereas the world does not know this.” Hauerwas reminds readers that if the world does not know the cross of Christ, it is the church’s fault.¹²⁶ It is because “Jesus has clearly entrusted the salvation of the world to the church rather than to the world.” More importantly, the soft difference is “the missionary side of following in the footsteps of the crucified Messiah. It is not an optional extra but part of Christian identity itself.”¹²⁷ Accordingly, this church-world difference also signifies the missionary’s responsibility of the church to the world.

Since Hauerwas is famous for his anti-liberalism stance, his noticeable theological assertion is a charge against liberalism. Hence, he strives to fight against the problems caused by liberalism, and the problems of language and of authority are the most crucial in determining the church-world relationship. To achieve his goals, Hauerwas’ discourse has three foci: firstly, a practice of learning to speak the church’s language; secondly, a practice of obedience to authority; and finally, a practice of witness.

Firstly, the church must learn to speak the church’s language. Hauerwas says, “One of the great tasks before the church today is to teach one another how to speak.” This is necessary because the church and the world use the same word, but with different meaning. For instance, since Christians’ understanding of the word “world” differs from that of the *New York Times*, and this can cause Christians tremendous confusion. We therefore need to learn to speak the church’s language. Hauerwas explains:

And that is why it is so important that we be possessed by habits and practices that help us remember that our language works quite differently than the world’s language.¹²⁸

The church’s first task is to serve the world “by helping the world know that it is

¹²⁵ Ibid., 53.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 53-54.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 54.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 58.

the world.”¹²⁹ In order to do this, the church is responsible to help the world define its problems. Hauerwas reminds us, “You do not know how to cure a disease until you can name it.” By the same token, he insists, “Our first task as Christian today, if we are to serve well in the world in which we find ourselves, is to name the illness.”¹³⁰ Hauerwas explains that he has written his book, *Resident Aliens*, to help “people name their pains in a manner that gives them a way to go on.”¹³¹ He points out the problem of the American society:

Too often in this culture recognition of our pains invites narcissistic self-absorption rather than locating us in a narrative which puts us in touch with a community that can do something about our pains. So we hope the book has brought to speech pains that people did not even know they had until we named them. Once named, pain can be acknowledged, diagnosed, and rightly ministered to.¹³²

Enlightened and convinced by Alasdair MacIntyre’s *Whose Justice, Which Rationality?*, Hauerwas echoes MacIntyre’s contention that “languages are languages in use. Language is a set of practices rather than a collection of words.” Thus, in order to achieve the first task of the church, we must learn how to speak in our own Christian language, submitting ourselves to the discipline of learning and practices of our faith. Hauerwas explains that

The first task of the church (to make the world the world rather than to make the world more just) become more intelligible once we understand that morally you can only act in the world that you can see, and you can only see by learning to say. In other words, our understanding of what it means to be Christian is to submit ourselves to the discipline of learning how to speak a foreign language. The church’s language is not a natural language, but it is a language that requires the self to be transformed to be part of that language.¹³³

Therefore, Christians should not translate our “practices or terms (such as Eucharist and sin) into more relevant and acceptable ideas.” Hauerwas considers it a questionable practice when some church leaders, in order “to make their beliefs more palatable,” begin to “translate peculiar Christian terms into concepts that will attract

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 59.

¹³¹ Stanley Hauerwas and William H. Willimon, “Why Resident Aliens Struck a Chord,” in Stanley Hauerwas, *In Good Company: The Church as Polis* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 55.

¹³² Ibid., 55.

¹³³ Hauerwas and Willimon, *Where Resident Aliens Live*, 59.

worldly unbelievers.”¹³⁴ On the other hand, the world often does not understand Christians’ connotations to certain familiar words. For example, Hauerwas points how the world would be unable to conceive of Christians’ understanding of the word “child,” since in the world, “people are valued on the basis of their achievements and products.” To the world, children are weak and “always under threat.” Nevertheless, the world does not know “the stories that make that word intelligible, stories of a Savior who embraced children, blessed children.”¹³⁵ Moreover, the world also cannot understand that “God made war on the Caesars, not through an army, but by a baby.”¹³⁶

Secondly, the church must have a practice of obedience to authority. Hauerwas points out that, nowadays, the result of democratic freedom makes people in America become their “own tyrants” and personal authority has become “another name for hell.”¹³⁷ Ironically, the world “assumes it has ‘solved’ the ‘problem’ of authority by making each person his or her own tyrant.”¹³⁸ Christians understand the world in which the church exists is inundated by liberalism, fostering such ideas as personal authority and democracy.¹³⁹ Hauerwas exposes the fallacy of the democratic ideology among his fellow American Christians: “We have acted as if we could vote on the truth, on our mission, and on our practices.”¹⁴⁰ This attitude indicates that the church fails to understand what it means to be obedient to authority:

We did not understand our task is to become a disciplined people capable of acknowledging the truth that has made us that we are through being lead in worship by those who are worthy. Worthiness does not denote that the clergy knows more than the laity. But rather, the ordained ministry is embodied by those who have the courage and humility to remind the church of those practices necessary for us to be in unity with God, with one another, and with the church universal.¹⁴¹

Hauerwas makes it clear that obedience should not be blind and Christians “do not just obey to obey.” Rather, he suggests that “our obedience is a form of service

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 60.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 61.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 62.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 63.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 64.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

to one another” and the embodiment of worship to our faithful God.¹⁴²

So authority and obedience are part of the practices necessary for the people of God to withstand a society that has no understanding of such authority... Our God is no willful tyrant but rather the one who unfailingly discerns our desires rightly. Our God has given us the time to discover that if we are patient with one another through our worship, we can become one mighty prayer of unity for the world.¹⁴³

Accordingly, Hauerwas urges his fellow Christians, called to the ministry, “to have the courage and the humility to act with authority.” They have to be the people “who are willing to subject their lives to the disciplines necessary for being people able to act with authority.” Hauerwas’ exhortation is summarized in the following discourse:

Without such people, the church will lose its way, forgetting the story that makes it possible to be a disciplined body of people against the false stories of the world. Without this kind of authority, we lose the habits necessary to be a church that can recognize the multiplicity of the goods represented in the lives of the people of the church.¹⁴⁴

Finally, the church has to exercise its witness in order to tell its story to the world. Since Christians are “storied” by the narratives of Jesus Christ as well as those of the entire Bible, telling the story to the world is our mandatory responsibility. But the crucial question is how we can make the story compelling for the world.¹⁴⁵ Our story’s special nature means that the only way to make it known is through witness. Hauerwas stresses the necessity of a relationship between the story and Christian witness:

What we must understand is that witness is necessary because we are so storied. If the gospel were a truth that could be known in general, then there would be no necessity to witness. All that would be necessary would be to confirm people in what they already know. If the gospel were about general human experience that is unavoidable, then there would be no necessity of being confronted by anyone as odd as a Christian. But because the story we tell of God is the story of the life and death of Jesus of Nazareth, then the only way to know that story is through witness.¹⁴⁶

In the context of western society, dominated by liberalism, the critical question is

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 64-65.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 65.

¹⁴⁵ Hauerwas, *After Christendom?*, 148.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 149.

“how the necessity of witness, the oddness of witness can be recovered in a world that thinks it already knows what that story is about.”¹⁴⁷ Thus, the only remedy is “how Christians can learn to think of themselves as missionaries in a world that we have at least in part been responsible for making.”¹⁴⁸

Hauerwas also has thought through a proper mentality for Christian witnesses: “We believe in the power of God for our salvation.”¹⁴⁹ This is similar to Yoder’s concept of “not effectiveness but incarnation.” He quotes the late Lesslie Newbigin, a missionary in India, who shares the idea that is very similar to Yoder’s concept of witness:

She tells it simply as one who has been chosen and called by God to be part of the company which is entrusted with the story. It is not her business to convert the others...But it is only the Holy Spirit of God who can so touch the hearts and consciences of the others that they are brought to accept the story as true and to put their trust in Jesus...This will always be a mysterious work of the Spirit... The Christian will pray that it may be so, and she will seek faithfully both to tell the story—as part of a Christian congregation—so conduct her life as to embody the truth of the story. But she will not imagine that it is her responsibility to insure the other is persuaded. That is in God’s hands.¹⁵⁰

Hauerwas deplores the situation which developed in the North American and Northern-European societies in which “Christianity became a civilizational religion.”¹⁵¹ He believes that Western Christians have made a tragic mistake, leading to the misconception that their culture has experienced a Christian conversion. Therefore, the concept that “the church ought to be in a missionary situation at *any* time and in *any* culture” does not apply to them anymore; and what they should do today is to “speak to everyone else’s culture.”¹⁵² Hauerwas further describes an “awkward” situation in Western liberal societies which force Christians of “the cultural establishment of Christianity” to “divorce their convictions from their practices” to avoid losing their intelligibility as Christians.¹⁵³ In such societies, “people believe rather than be incorporated into the church.” This means that people

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 152.

¹⁵⁰ Lesslie Newbigin, *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1989), 182.

¹⁵¹ Hauerwas and Willimon, “Why Resident Aliens Struck a Chord,” 54.

¹⁵² Ibid., 53.

¹⁵³ Hauerwas, *After Christendom?*, 24

claim to believe God but do not go to the church. This has become characteristic of the culturally established church in the West, where people assume Christianity has been disestablished because of the practice of the separation of church and state.

The resulting irony is that Christians in those societies continue to presume that their Christian presuppositions represent their societies' mainstream thought.¹⁵⁴

Hauerwas describes such a mentality as "the continued social and cultural hegemony of generalized Christian presuppositions." This means that

You do not need an established church when you think everyone more or less believes what you believe. Particularly "awkward" in our situation is the very characterization of Christianity as a system of beliefs that was a correlative of our cultural establishment in liberal societies.¹⁵⁵

According to Hauerwas, the most powerful witness of the church against Rome is martyrdom. It is the most determinative political witness of the church, as it claims "to be the triumphant political community." The church "triumphs by remembering the victory of the Lamb through the witness of the martyrs."¹⁵⁶

Contrarily, the most dangerous temptation the church faces is that of theocracy. This is because Christians believe "what God has done in Israel and Jesus is the only true politics."¹⁵⁷ The disastrous consequence is that Christians are misled by this conception so that they confuse "the politics of salvation with the idea that in the name of God Christians must rule."¹⁵⁸ This false assumption led to the rise of the Constantinian church.

Reinhold Niebuhr is one of the most influential figures in the post-World War II era in the West theologically. Hauerwas summarises Niebuhr's theology in three words: "All is sin." Niebuhr realizes this expresses the essence of Augustine's theology, whereas he "reads Augustine as justifying a 'realist' account of church and society." Hauerwas reiterates Niebuhr's realist account as:

All is sin. The best the Christian can do is achieve the lesser evil, knowing that justice achieved will only be the basis for future injustice. The church is politically relevant only as it provides the account of our existence necessary for the creation of liberal democratic regiments that are capable of acknowledging the limits of

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 25.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 38.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 38-39.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 39.

all politics. Our awkward situation is no surprise for Niebuhr, as that is exactly the politics we should desire.¹⁵⁹

However, Hauerwas is quick to point out that Niebuhr misses something crucial in Augustine's theology, which is Augustine's insistence on the church's status as "the only true political society:"

There is no doubt that Augustine's account of the worldly city invites a Niebuhr-like interpretation. Yet missing from Niebuhr's account is Augustine's equally strong insistence that the church is the only true political society, because only in the church are we directed to worship the one true God. Only through the church do we have the resources necessary for our desires to be rightly ordered, for the virtues to be rightly formed.¹⁶⁰

As stated by Hauerwas, people are so heavily affected by the teaching of liberalism that they are convinced that the city of God "is not and cannot be instantiated in society or church." In fact, Augustine "does not think of the two cities as two distinct human associations." Building on Rowan Williams' analysis, Hauerwas asserts that Augustine's concern is to redefine the meaning of public itself.¹⁶¹ Hauerwas argues that, according to Augustine, the city of God "can never go to war even in self-defense."¹⁶² Consequently, Hauerwas lays out Augustine's church-world concept in a threefold way: Firstly, the survival of the church is not dependent on any human system. Secondly, the church has to prepare to "witness to God's rule" without ruling society, and we are not in the position "to determine the 'best form of government'." Thirdly, the church should do what it is supposed to do – God's salvation.¹⁶³

In summary, the church and the world are by nature in a conflicting relationship: The church is peaceable, but the world is violence-oriented which is moulded and overwhelmingly dominated by the thought of liberalism. In order to regain its authority, the church must at least strive to restore its practices in three aspects: Firstly, a practice of learning to speak the church's language; secondly, a practice of obedience to authority; and finally, a practice of witness.

Newbigin has provided valuable advice to the church regarding its interaction

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 40.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid., 42-43.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 43-44.

and relationship with the world. Drawing on his wide experience as a missionary, as a teacher of missiology, and as a minister in a typical inner-city area in Birmingham, UK, Newbigin admonishes the church to be aware of seven cautions of “never” and one caution of “cannot” in the chapter titled “The Dialogue with Politics”:

Of course, as contemporary history proves, Christians can live and bear witness under any regime, whatever its ideology. But Christians can *never seek refuge* in a ghetto where their faith is not proclaimed as public truth for all. They can *never agree* that there is one law for themselves and another for the world. They can *never admit* that there are areas of human life where the writ of Christ does not run. They can *never accept* that there are orders of creation or powers or dominions that exist otherwise than to serve Christ. Whatever the institutional relationship between the church and the state—and there are many possible relationships, no one of which is necessarily the right one for all times and places—the church can *never cease* to remind governments that they are under the rule of Christ and that he alone is the judge of all they do. The church can *never accept* the thesis that the central shrine of public life is empty, in other words, that there has been no public revelation before the eyes of all the world of the purpose for which all things and all peoples have been created, and which all governments must serve. It can *never accept* an ultimate pluralism as a creed even if it must—as of course it must—acknowledge plurality as a fact. In fact, it *cannot accept* the idea, so popular twenty years ago, of a secular society in which, on principle, there are no commonly acknowledged norms. We know now, I think, that the only possible product of that ideal is a pagan society (emphasis mine).¹⁶⁴

Yoder's Concept of Church-World Relationship

One of the recognised complications of researching Yoder's thought is that he never produced a systematic piece on theological ethics.¹⁶⁵ In order to grasp his comprehensive conception of the church, we have to assemble his ideas piece by piece from his occasional essays written over the past four decades. Hays thinks that, within most of his scholarship, *The Politics of Jesus*, published in 1972 and revised in 1994, stands out as Yoder's most significant constructive discourse. *The Priestly Kingdom*, a collection of essays published in 1984, is the best for understanding Yoder's hermeneutic. *The Royal Priesthood*, edited by Michael G. Cartwright and published in 1994, presents Yoder's approach to ecumenical and ecclesiological

¹⁶⁴ Lesslie Newbigin, *Foolishness to the Greeks: The Gospel and Western Culture* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1986), 115.

¹⁶⁵ Richard B. Hays, *The Moral Vision of the New Testament: A Contemporary Introduction to New Testament Ethics* (New York, New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1996), 240.

dialogue. Other important sources for Yoder's doctrine of the church can be found in *Body Politics* (1992), *The Original Revolution* (1998) and *The Christian Witness to the State* (1997), etc..

1. Meaning of the Church

First of all, the question must be answered: what is the church? According to Yoder, the church is:

God's people gathered as a unit, as a people, gathered to do business in His name, to find what it means here and now to put into practice this different quality of life which is God's promise to them and to the world and their promise to God and service to the world.¹⁶⁶

Yoder reminds us that the word "church" as used by Jesus in the Aramaic language has a different meaning from our twentieth century understanding. It does not mean a gathering for worship, nor the group of people gathering for worship, nor the building and organization where the people meet; it means "a public gathering to deal with community business." Yoder uses some modern political terms, such as assembly, parliament, and town meeting, for clarifying Jesus' concept of the church.¹⁶⁷ It is because in both biblical languages, the word "church" originally "refers to a deliberative assembly of the body politic." The church is a more properly ordered community and more truly political than is the state.¹⁶⁸ This is Yoder's explicit divulgence of the social-political essence of the church. No wonder in the opening chapter of *The Politics of Jesus*, Yoder boldly proclaims that his hypothesis of the book is a counter argument to the prevalent assumption, as he convincingly argues that the ministry of Jesus is "not the avoidance of political options," but a "social-political-ethical option."¹⁶⁹

According to Yoder, the meaning of history "lies in the creation and the work of the church."¹⁷⁰ This is because the Risen Christ has destroyed the evil powers, and His triumph is the guarantee of the significance of the church. History will only be

¹⁶⁶ John H. Yoder, "The Original Revolution," chapter in *The Original Revolution: Essays on Christian Pacifism* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1998), 31.

¹⁶⁷ Yoder, "The Original Revolution," 30-31.

¹⁶⁸ John H. Yoder, *The Christian Witness to the State* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1997), 18.

¹⁶⁹ John H. Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus: Behold the Man, Our Victorious Lamb*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1994), 11.

¹⁷⁰ Yoder, *The Christian Witness to the State*, 13, 17.

found in His church, the “chosen race, royal priesthood, holy nation,”¹⁷¹ but will also not be found in the worldly empires or human cultures. Therefore it can be inferred that history and the world are meaningless without the church. The purpose of the existence of the church is to bear history and to be the witness of Christ.

Regarding the formation of the church, Yoder states that it is “the original revolution.” Through this revolution, the church is created as “a distinct community with its own deviant set of values and its coherent way of incarnating them.”¹⁷²

Then, what is the distinctiveness of this “revolutionary” community? Based on my understanding of Yoder’s thoughts, three types of distinctiveness of the church can be deduced. They are the distinctiveness of Christian identity, the distinctiveness of Christian mentality, and the distinctiveness of Christian eschatology.

Distinctiveness of Christian Identity

“Apartness” is the first pivot of the distinctiveness of Christian identity. It refers, as mentioned above, to a distinct community with its own deviant set of values and life style, i.e. the church is different from other societies of the world and from the world itself in all aspects. The church is alien to the world. Yoder explains that the origin of apartness is derived from the beginning of the Bible. Abraham was called by God to leave Chaldea, his home and his cultural as well as religious centre, going to an unknown destination. He was promised by God that his people would become a blessed nation and that he himself would be its father. One of the requirements of this blessing would be its apartness, “a life different from the cultured and the religious peoples,” met during their pilgrimage.¹⁷³ This apartness was depicted in Balaam’s first Oracle that “From the rocky peaks I see them, from the heights I view them, I see a people who live apart and do not consider themselves one of the nations.” (Numbers 23:9, *NIV*)

In the era of the New Testament, Jesus became the consummation of the manifestation of apartness and as well as the final fulfilment of God’s promises to Abraham. Jesus gathered his people and created a new society that was totally alien to any human civilisation. The unique characteristics of the society — the church — are firstly, voluntary membership and secondly, a racially, religiously, and

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 13.

¹⁷² Yoder, “The Original Revolution,” 28.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 27-28.

economically mixed composition, and finally, a new way of life to live.¹⁷⁴

Another pivot of the distinctiveness of Christian identity is found in Yoder's refrain, "Let the church be the church." Yoder derived this slogan from "become what you are," as proclaimed by the Apostle Paul.¹⁷⁵ Simply put, it means that Christians should live like what Christians are. Its imperative implies that "you are not what you claim to be." The church is being warned that it does not yet fully and genuinely fulfil its role. The reason for its failure is that the church has gone astray and has been doing something else. "Let the church be the church," therefore, is a call to the church to stop doing other things and to be the church again.¹⁷⁶ The real mark of the church is not its identification with the society; on the contrary, the true identity of the church is revealed by its distinctness from the world.¹⁷⁷ Yoder asserts that this new society established by Jesus is "unidentifiable with any of the local, national, or ethnic solidarities of any time."¹⁷⁸ This statement may be the best description of the distinctiveness of Christian identity.

Distinctiveness of Christian Mentality

Minority status is the core of the second type of distinctiveness. The "Constantinian Era," started when Christianity became the established religion of Rome in the era after the conversion of the Roman emperor Constantine in the fourth century, is a crucial factor in Yoder's theological construction. The number of Christians was insignificant in the total population before Constantine; therefore Christianity was a minority statistically. Nonetheless, the situation is more than a matter of statistics in Yoder's mind. His main concern is with the minority mentality of Christians. Yoder reminds us of the situation of Abraham and Moses as well as other prophets who were listened to by only a minority.¹⁷⁹ Facing the secular world, Christians should bear in mind three "ought not's": Firstly, we ought not expect the world to accept our faith and live with it; secondly, we ought not measure the world with our moral standard, and finally, we ought not want to "christianise" the world

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 28-29.

¹⁷⁵ John H. Yoder, "Let the Church be the Church," chapter in *The Original Revolution: Essays on Christian Pacifism* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1998), 113. Yoder says that it is a New Testament thought by Paul in Col. 2:20; 3:5; Eph. 2:3.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 113-114.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 116-117.

¹⁷⁸ Yoder, *The Christian Witness to the State*, 10.

¹⁷⁹ Yoder, "Let the Church be the Church," 122.

through the hands of government.¹⁸⁰ Yoder considers these attitudes to be the real circumstance of the church in society and a realistic way of Christian moral thinking.¹⁸¹ In other words, Yoder reminds Christians not to be surprised by the world's rejection of our faith, our value system and our moral standard. We should never have any illusion of using governmental means to accomplish the goal of evangelisation of the society. The genuine, biblical Christian life is always bounded by these three "ought not's."

Distinctiveness of Christian Eschatology

The distinctiveness of Christian eschatology can also be regarded as the distinctiveness of hope in Yoder's ethical thesis. He calls this eschatology "peace with eschatology." In Yoder's thought, "peace" and "hope" are two core concepts of eschatology. Peace does not mean a warless world, but

'Peace' describes the pacifist's hope, the goal in the light of which Christians act, the character of Christian actions, the ultimate divine certainty that lets the Christian position make sense; it does not describe the external appearance or the observable results of Christian behavior. This is what we mean by eschatology: a hope that, defying present frustration, defines a present position in terms of the yet unseen goal that gives it meaning.¹⁸²

In this eschatology, one of the Yoder's emphases is the concept of two aeons. He says that, according to the New Testament, our present age, from Pentecost to the Parousia, is "a period of the overlapping of two aeons." The two aeons, the old and the new, are not two distinct periods of time, but exist simultaneously. The former refers to "the human history outside of (before) Christ" and the latter, to "fullness of the kingdom of God." The former is pointing backward and the latter is pointing forward. The social manifestation of the former is in the "world," and of the latter is "in the church or the body of Christ."¹⁸³ Christ is Lord, both the Head of the church and Lord of history. The old and new aeons are both under the reign of Christ.¹⁸⁴ The world is the fallen form of the creation, and the state (one of the powers) can be

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 122-123.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 124.

¹⁸² John Howard Yoder, "Peace Without Eschatology?," in *The Royal Priesthood: Essays Ecclesiological and Ecumenical*, ed. Michael G. Cartwright, foreword by Richard J. Mouw (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania and Waterloo, Ontario: Herald Press, 1998), 145.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 146.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 149-150.

considered the archetype for the world. The church is the institution established by Christ as a counter against the world.¹⁸⁵ Our present historical period, from Pentecost to the Parousia, is identified by the coexistence of the two aeons, that is, a period of the overlapping of two aeons. Christ's lordship is over both the old and new aeons. Yoder explains the dynamics and characteristics of this period:

The essential difference between the two aeons is not temporal, since they coexist; it is more a matter of direction. The present aeon is characterized by sin and centered on man; the coming aeon is the redemptive reality which entered history in an ultimate way in Christ. The present age, by rejecting obedience, has rejected the only possible ground for man's own well-being; the coming age is characterized by God's will being done. The seal of the possibility of His will's being done is the presence of the Holy Spirit, given to the church as a foretaste of the eventual consummation of God's kingdom. Thus, although the new aeon is described as coming, it is not only a future quantity. The old has already begun to be superseded by the new, and the focus of that victory is the body of Christ, first the man Christ Jesus, and then derivatively the fellowship of obedient believers.¹⁸⁶

In Yoder's construal, the new entails "a radical break with the old," as exhibited in the word and deeds of Christ. Jesus was faithful to his mission, establishing His church — the new aeon — by His gospel, instead of achieving the goals of the Jewish nationalism — the old aeon — by the means of violence. The prime object of Jesus' concern was people, and the political ideologies, such as nationalism, were low on his priority. Jesus Christ is *agape*, that is, Jesus Himself is "self-giving, nonresistant love." The cross of Christ is the only starting point and manifestation for Christian pacifism or non-resistance.¹⁸⁷ The essence of Yoder's theology can be extracted from the following quotation:

At the cross this nonresistance, including the refusal to use political means of self-defense, found its ultimate revelation in the uncomplaining and forgiving death of the innocent at the hands of the guilty...The cross is the extreme demonstration that *agape* seeks neither effectiveness nor justice and is willing to suffer any loss or seeming defeat for the sake of obedience.¹⁸⁸

Two observations can be made: First, Christ's cross manifests Christ's *agape*,

¹⁸⁵ John Howard Yoder, "The Otherness of the Church," in *The Royal Priesthood: Essays Ecclesiological and Ecumenical*, ed. Michael G. Cartwright, foreword by Richard J. Mouw (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania and Waterloo, Ontario: Herald Press, 1998), 55-56.

¹⁸⁶ Yoder, *The Christian Witness to the State*, 9.

¹⁸⁷ Yoder, "Peace Without Eschatology?" 147.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

and His obedience is the radiance of that manifestation. Second, Christ's *agape* is exercised at all costs, even though effectiveness and justice are sacrificed. This is how Jesus showed a willingness to give up the easy way of accomplishing his goal and to suffer personally from society's injustice.

Thus one of the Yoder's core thoughts is his absolute demand that Christians be faithful in following their Lord's example of suffering to demonstrate love. Such commitment is described as "solidarity with Christ" or "discipleship."¹⁸⁹ Yoder warns that it is "a fundamental error" to label the New Testament church as withdrawn or weak. The strength of the church is rooted and expressed in its attitude toward the world, which Yoder describes as "the otherness of the church."¹⁹⁰ The church is free from the burden of attack the powers of the world directly, for Christ has done this already. Basing his argument on Berkhof's ideas, Yoder asserts that the church is only responsible for defence as Christ has been doing the offence for us. The church then needs no offensive weapons. The church's only weapon is to stay close to Christ and remain out of the reach of the state's power.¹⁹¹ The primary task of the church is to exist in the world and to demonstrate that the rebellious world has been conquered.¹⁹² As Christ reigns over the world, the church is responsible to deliver ethical judgment to the state in addition to evangelizing the world. Moreover, Christ's lordship also prevents the state from ultimately being the determinative force in history, enabling the church "to leave other functions in society to pagans."¹⁹³ In terms of modern management, it can allow a "division of labour." The church is only responsible for its own duties and functions as set out by Jesus, to be the prophetic voice of the society, as assigned by Christ, and can let the world run its own way, trusting Christ to take care of the rest. Yoder repeatedly admonishes that:

Those who have refused to learn from the New Testament must now learn from history; the church's responsibility to and for the world is first and always to be the church. The short-circuited means used to "Christianize" "responsibly" the world in some easier way than by the gospel have had the effect of dechristianizing the Occident and

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 148.

¹⁹⁰ Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus: Behold the Man, Our Victorious Lamb*, 150. The theme is fully developed in Yoder's essay, "The Otherness of the Church," collected in *The Royal Priesthood*, 53-64.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 149. For details of Berkhof's argument, see Hendrik Berkhof, *Christ and the Powers*, trans. John Howard Yoder (Scottsdale and Waterloo: Herald Press, 1977), chapter 5: "The Church and the Powers," 47-52.

¹⁹² Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus: Behold the Man, Our Victorious Lamb*, 150.

¹⁹³ Yoder, "The Otherness of the Church," 56.

demonizing paganism.”¹⁹⁴

2. Church-World Relationship

Among all of Yoder’s publications addressing the issue of church-world relationship, his two most important works are *The Christian Witness to the State* and *For the Nations: Essays Evangelical and Public*. The former tackles the issue more directly while the latter is a project of model construction. The purpose of the writings, collected in *The Christian Witness to the State*, is to respond to criticisms made by his contemporary American mainstream Christians that “the consistent Christian pacifist must accept the verdict of political irrelevance for his position.”¹⁹⁵ In response, Yoder attempts to analyze whether a Christian pacifist position, rooted in Christological considerations, is irrelevant to the social order. Yoder states two assumptions in his analysis. Firstly, he assumes that the rejection of lethal violence is based on Jesus’ example and teaching. Secondly, he acknowledges that it is impossible to do away with violence to establish political or economic order in the present age.¹⁹⁶

At the outset of our review of Yoder’s church-world relationship, it is noteworthy to refer to Arne Rasmusson’s comment on Yoder’s understanding of the state. He points out that Yoder does not have a doctrine or a general theory of the state, as his discourse on the state is simply an empirical statement.¹⁹⁷ He further claims, “Yoder does not have a theory of the ideal state which could function as a criterion for criticism of the actual state.”¹⁹⁸ While the state is a central expression of the political structuring of social life used by God for preserving human life, it is also fallen.¹⁹⁹

There are two ideas that comprise the kernel of Yoder’s thought of church and world: two aeons and powers/structures. The former reflects a historical

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 61.

¹⁹⁵ Yoder, *The Christian Witness to the State*, 7.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 6-8.

¹⁹⁷ Arne Rasmusson, “Historicizing the Historicist: Ernst Troeltsch and Recent Mennonite Theology,” in *The Wisdom of the Cross: Essays in Honor of John Howard Yoder*, ed. Stanley Hauerwas, Chris K. Huebner, Harry J. Heubner, and Mark Thiessen Nation (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 1999), 237. In *The Christian Witness to the State*, Yoder states that “[w]e here seek no doctrine of the state as divine institution, as social contract, or as leviathan. Nor are we initially concerned with the socialized welfare functions of many modern states... Whatever the state is or should be in theory, in fact every state wields the sword, and it is that fact that sets the theme for this study.” (12, footnote 6)

¹⁹⁸ Rasmusson, “Historicizing the Historicist: Ernst Troeltsch and Recent Mennonite Theology,” 238.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 240.

understanding and the latter is a biblical concept. Except for the previous discourse on the concept of two aeons on the distinctiveness of Christian eschatology, Yoder elucidates the role and status of the church and the world in terms of the two aeons in the context of church-world relationship:

The church points forward as the social manifestation of the ultimately triumphant redemptive work of God; the world, however, even though still rebellious, is brought into subjection to the kingship of Christ or the kingdom of the Son. The kingdom of the Son is thus to be distinguished...from the kingdom of God.²⁰⁰

The church, established by Jesus, reflects God's true purpose and represents the creation of a new society, which is "unidentifiable with any of the local, national, or ethnic solidarities of any time." That is to say the church is universal in nature, since it is a community without national or ethnic boundaries. This new body is the "aftertaste of God's loving triumph on the cross and foretaste of His ultimate loving triumph in His kingdom."²⁰¹

Regarding the relationship between history and the church, the former is the framework in which the latter evangelizes. Thus, the true meaning of history is that "God has chosen to use it for such a 'scaffolding' service." The existence of the human community or society is to provide the church with "the context within which the church's work can be carried on."²⁰²

Regarding the biblical understanding of the church-world relationship, "human affairs [are] to be dominated by superhuman powers," namely, thrones, principalities, powers, archangels, and dominions, which are grouped under the heading of "*angelic*" or "*demonic*."²⁰³ The Biblically term "*powers*" is roughly the equivalent of the modern term "*structures*." According to the Bible, the realm that is governed by the

²⁰⁰ Yoder, *The Christian Witness to the State*, 10. In the footnote, Yoder clarifies the distinction between the "Kingdom of God" and the "Kingdom of the Son" that they "cannot be read back into the Gospel reports; before the Ascension the distinction was meaningless. Whereas the epistles recognize the temporal quality of the sitting at the right hand *until* the enemies become a footstool (especially Heb. 10:12, 1 Cor. 15:24), the citations from Psalm 110 in the Gospels do not draw any such conclusions from this phrase (Mark 12:36, 14:62, and parallels)." (10)

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid., 10-11.

²⁰³ Ibid., 8. Yoder borrows the concept of powers from Berkhof and used it in his own work, such as *The Christian Witness to the State* and *The Politics of Jesus*. He avers that the concept of the powers written by the Apostle Paul is one of the few realms of biblical thought that have resolutely ignored by the mainstream Protestant theology, which is regarded as "some sort of undefinable superterrestrial beings." (in the "Translator's Preface" of Berkhof's book, 5-6) For details of Berkhof's discourse, see Berkhof, *Christ and the Powers*, 13-67.

powers is considered to be “the world.”²⁰⁴ In the New Testament, the divine victory is affirmed by Jesus Christ’ triumph over the powers by His cross, resurrection, ascension, and the pouring out of His spirit. Yoder recognizes it as “the concrete meaning of the term *Lord*.”²⁰⁵ He quotes Paul’s teaching that Jesus Christ is the Lord who “must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet.” (1 Cor. 15:25)

Yoder describes “the state” as “a deeply representative segment of the ‘world’.” The bearers of political authority are agents of God’s purpose to be used either in rebellion or submission. Romans 13 and 1 Peter 2 are “the most direct and affirmative” passages asserting that the state is “God’s instrument for the maintenance of order in society.”²⁰⁶ The state, in its judicial and police functions, is God’s instrument to maintain social order, allowing the church to exist and operate.²⁰⁷ Since Christ’s lordship is over both the church and the state, both exist in the realm of grace.²⁰⁸ According to Yoder,

Several of the terms in Romans 13 are derivatives of the root *taxis*, “order.” The command in verse 1 might be translated “Let every soul be subordinate to the *ordained* authorities.” It is thus meaningful to speak of an “*order* of providence,” where Christ reigns over man’s disobedience, through the “powers” including the state, side by side with the “order of redemption” where Christ rules in and through the obedience of His disciples. It would be a misunderstanding to refer to one of these realms as the “order of grace,” as if only the church were in the realm of grace. Both the lordship of Christ over the world and His headship in the church are of grace, though they are distinct.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ Yoder, *The Christian Witness to the State*, 8-9. Harry J. Huebner points out that “world” is a theological category in the theology of Yoder and Hauerwas, who are often called sectarian ethicists. For them, “it is the faithful church community which makes it possible for us to understand the world around us and to do the will of God within that world... Christian knowledge and action cannot be abstracted from the lives of real people because neither is properly understood abstractly. Both presuppose a concrete social community which, as a discipleship training base, is a prerequisite for knowing god and the world. The assumption is that you cannot properly know god and world unless you have been instructed in the art of knowing and living by Christian practices.” See Harry J. Huebner, “Moral Agency as Embodiment: How the Church Acts,” in *The Wisdom of the Cross: Essays in Honor of John Howard Yoder*, eds. Stanley Hauerwas, Chris K. Heubner, Harry J. Huebner, and Mark Thiessen Nation (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 1999), 192-93.

²⁰⁵ Yoder, *The Christian Witness to the State*, 9.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 12. In his essay, George Hunsinger misinterprets Yoder’s concept that the state is an “unredeemed creation.” He says that for the free church tradition to which Yoder belongs, “the civil community and the state represent the unredeemed creation...” (126). See “Karl Barth and the Politics of Sectarian Protestantism: A Dialogue with John Howard Yoder,” in *Disruptive Grace: Studies in the Theology of Karl Barth*, ed. George Hunsinger (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2000), 114-28.

²⁰⁹ Yoder, *The Christian Witness to the State*, 12.

Yoder further expounds:

In the New Testament...the state has within the divine plan a function, modest but nevertheless essential, constantly shifting but nevertheless fundamentally definable, distinct from that of the church yet within the redemptive plan.²¹⁰

A Dialogue among O'Donovan, Hauerwas, and Yoder Related to the Context of Hong Kong

A study of the theologies of O'Donovan, Hauerwas, and Yoder is intriguing. They are all post-modernists, influenced by Karl Barth, but their stances on church-world relationship are widely divergent. O'Donovan seems to be proud of such ideas as democracy, liberty and rule of law and claims that they are part of Christendom legacy, while Hauerwas and Yoder challenge such Enlightenment legacy, which provides crucial vitamins for the womb of liberal society in which the church is situated. O'Donovan considers that Christendom was an unavoidable outcome in the context after the Edict of Milan and inevitable historically, while Hauerwas and Yoder perceive Christendom as a tragedy in Christian church history. O'Donovan contends that the church is a power helping the state transform society, while Hauerwas urges the church to "take over the world," in stead of "recommending a withdrawal strategy."²¹¹ O'Donovan regards the world of Christendom as Christians' sweet homeland to accomplish their divine missions while Hauerwas views the world is Christians' wilderness.²¹² Related to the context of Hong Kong, two features, Constantinianism and the relationship between the church's mission and Christendom, can provide a useful foundation to construct Yoder's Jeremianic model in the following chapter.

Constantinianism

There is broad consensus that Constantinianism is one of the overarching themes of Yoder's church-world discourse. Before assessing Yoder's critique of Constantinianism, a brief review of the rise of Constantinianism is necessary to understand the issue.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 13.

²¹¹ Hauerwas, *After Christendom?*, 7.

²¹² Hauerwas and Foder, "Remaining in Babylon: Oliver O'Donovan's Defense of Christendom," 217.

Simply stated, the “Constantinian Era” started when Christianity became the established religion of Rome following “the conversion” of the Roman emperor Constantine in the fourth century. However, recent researches have revealed the underlying motives of Constantine’s conversion.

Alistair Kee’s analysis of Constantine’s conversion states that we are not dealing with the triumph of Christ over empire, but of ideology over Christianity. In the *Edict of Milan*, promulgated in 313, the persecution of Christians by the state was brought to an end. Constantine, the Roman Emperor, became the patron of the church. His religious policy was enacted by a series of letters, edicts, and laws.²¹³ Nevertheless, Kee clearly points out that Constantine was a religious man, but not a Christian.²¹⁴ He explains that Constantine was “a devotee of the God of the Christians,” but not to Christ.²¹⁵ Constantine expressed his Christian faith “but without actually naming the Christ or his cross.”²¹⁶ In other words, Constantine’s God was not the same God of the Christian, as Jesus Christ was absent. Thus, Constantine was not a Christian, according to Kee.

Hence, the basic motive of Constantine’s religious policy was twofold: Firstly, it was “an extension of the causal relationship of obedience and reward” that Constantine had experienced. Secondly, it was a means to “repair the social fabric of the Empire” and all confiscated property of Christians to be returned,²¹⁷ as well as their good names.²¹⁸ Besides, Constantine did not “absolutize Christianity.” His policy was a sort of religious liberty that all his subjects were allowed to continue their own pagan worship. Thus, Constantine’s legislation on religion was regarded as a political action, not a Christian commitment. It is justifiable to say that Constantine’s primary concern was “a political one, the unification of the empire and the extension of the benefits enjoyed under his regime.”²¹⁹ Kee observes two aspects of significance in Constantine’s religious policy after examining The Theodosian Code.²²⁰ Firstly, religion did not dominate the life and work of Constantine. Kee

²¹³ Alistair Kee, *Constantine Versus Christ: The Triumph of Ideology* (London, UK: SCM Press, 1982), 89-94.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 88.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 23.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 38.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 91.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 93.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 94.

²²⁰ The Emperor Theodosius appointed a commission of experts to make a collection of the imperial edicts in 429, beginning with those of Constantine and continuing to the present. In 438 the

asserts that “Constantine’s policies are not determined by religion: his religion is determined by his imperial policies.” That is, religion is part of Constantine’s political strategy.²²¹ Secondly, no sign of Christian commitment on the part of Constantine was found in the collection. Moreover, “bishops were considered not simply in their ecclesiastical office but as imperial dignitaries.”²²² The consequence of Constantine’s action was that it might be considered as “Christian commitment on the part of the Emperor.” In other words, the fidelity of clergy to the church tended to shift to fidelity to the state so that clergy became civil servants.²²³

Summarily, Constantine’s religious policy aimed primarily at a political objective: the unity of the state. It was clear that the motive of his interventions in church affairs was to eliminate the possible threat to the unity of the church, which was reckoned to be the foundation of the unity of the empire. Therefore, Constantine tried all possible means to preserve the unity of the church. Kee rightly depicts the church-state dynamic and strategy of Constantine’s legislation:

[H]e used religion as a means to a political end, namely the unification of the Empire. It was therefore intended to strengthen monotheism in general and Christianity in particular, in view of importance of religion in Constantine’s overall strategy. However, on occasion Constantine took a much closer interest in religion: he actually intervened in the affairs of the church...Constantine’s interventions spring not from religious convictions, but because certain developments threatened the unity of the church. If the church was to be a means to an end, an instrument in the unification of the Empire, then any threat to the unity of the church was a threat to his religious policy and ultimately to the unity of the Empire itself...Schism and heresy were not matters of theological importance to the Emperor, but of political importance.²²⁴

Regarding the Constantinian shift, Rodney Clapp draws a reasonable conclusion that “Constantine was the first emperor to convert (at least ostensibly) to what had been a despised and dismissed ‘slave religion.’ For better and for worse, this conversion changed history.”²²⁵ Clapp is in agreement with Charles Norris Cochrane

Codex Theodosianus was finally issued in sixteen books. See Kee, *Constantine Versus Christ*, 94.

²²¹ Ibid., 95-96.

²²² Ibid., 96.

²²³ Ibid., 96-97.

²²⁴ Ibid., 102.

²²⁵ Rodney Clapp, *A Peculiar People: The Church as Culture in a Post-Christian Society* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 23.

that Constantine should be recognised as “the architect of the Middle Ages.”²²⁶

Let us sum up the comments on Constantine’s conversion. E. Glenn Hinson does not totally deny the authenticity of Constantine’s conversion. On the nature of Constantine’s conversion, no matter what his exact reasons were, Constantine claimed that he believed the supreme God whom Christians worshipped had given him the victory and dominion over the empire. Obviously, he “hoped that by doing God’s will he would obtain further prosperity for himself and his subjects and feared that if he offended God he would be cast down from power and pull the empire down with him.”²²⁷ Regarding the ecclesiastical reaction to the Constantinianism controversy, Hinson points out that the most persistent and consistent voice against it “has come from the so-called free churches that emerged at the time of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century and after.” Anabaptists and Baptists, standing in the front line, “have denounced the alliance of church and state that Constantine effected as a ‘fall’ of the church, resulting not only in the religious intolerance and persecution but also in an adulteration of Christianity.”²²⁸

Yoder, as an Anabaptist theologian, considers this ruling by Constantine to be the single most destructive event in Western church history. His abhorrence of the “constantinization of the church” may be due to its destructive consequences to the Western Church.²²⁹

Regarding the distinctiveness of identity, the “constantinisation of the church” breached the voluntary membership basis. Before Constantine, Christians had been a minority, representing less than ten percent of the population. After Constantine, everyone was considered to be a Christian. Professing Christian faith eventually became mandatory with no exception.²³⁰ The distinctiveness of identity naturally no longer existed.

Regarding the distinctiveness of mentality, the “constantinisation of the church”

²²⁶ Ibid., 25; also see Charles Norris Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture: A Study of Thought and Action from Augustus to Augustine* (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1957), 210-12.

²²⁷ *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York, New York: Macmillan, 1987), s.v. “Constantinianism,” by E. Glenn Hinson, 71.

²²⁸ *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, s.v. “Constantinianism,” by Hinson, 72.

²²⁹ Yoder reiterates this overarching theme in his essays such as “The Otherness of the Church,” “Let the Church be the Church,” “The Kingdom As Social Ethics,” “The Constantinian Sources of Western Social Ethics,” “If Christ is Truly Lord,” and “Civil Religion in America,” etc.

²³⁰ John Howard Yoder, “The Constantinian Sources of Western Social Ethics,” in *The Priestly Kingdom: Social Ethics as Gospel* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 135-36.

altered the minority mentality. As mentioned before, the number of Christians was insignificant in the total population before Constantine; therefore Christianity was a minority statistically. Nonetheless in Yoder's mind, it is more than a matter of statistics. His main concern is with the minority mentality of Christians. From the above analysis, we can imagine that the differences of the social status of Christians between the pre- and post- Constantinian eras must have been vast with grave consequence. It was a dramatic reversal of the social status of the church from minority to majority that would cause the church to become content with its new favourable social status. It would be unavoidable that such a dramatic reversal of Christians' social status would affect their mentality. Christians were deceived into believing that they were the only caretakers-in-charge of the society and that it was their responsibility to manage it. This false assumption misled them to believe that if they failed to fulfil the responsibility, the world would fall apart.²³¹ One of the fatal outcomes of the "constantinisation" is the desire to control the social process. The Constantinian church was entrusted with the authority to interpret the "rightness or wrongness of behavior," and the worst outcome was that they began to manipulate the outcome by utilitarian reasoning, compromises, and "lesser evil arguments."²³² Constantinianism also makes providence no longer a matter of faith but within the control of the ruler.²³³ This is to say that the church would foster a mentality of dependency upon the government.

Regarding the distinctiveness of eschatology, the "constantinisation of the church" ruined the distinction between the church and the world. Firstly, the salvation history changed, as God was governing history through Constantine, who became a kind of saviour, a kind of bishop, and a kind of theologian. The Empire was the church.²³⁴ Thus, two visible realities, the church and the state, were fused. The merger made the "world" no longer exist and its components such as "state, economy, art, rhetoric, superstition, and war have all been baptized."²³⁵ Yoder's disheartening description of the situation of the church is "[w]hat is called 'church' is an

²³¹ Yoder, "Let the Church be the Church," 127.

²³² John Howard Yoder, "The Kingdom as Social Ethic," in *The Priestly Kingdom: Social Ethics as Gospel* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 83-84.

²³³ John Howard Yoder, *Christian Attitudes to War, Peace, and Revolution: A Companion to Bainton* (Elkhart, Indiana: Goshen Biblical Seminary; distributed, in photocopied form, by Cokesbury Bookstore, Duke Divinity School, Durham, N.C., 1983), 44.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

²³⁵ Yoder, "The Otherness of the Church," 57.

administrative branch of the state on the same level with the army or the post office.”²³⁶

Secondly, the church lost its redemptive purpose:

The attitude that seeks peace without eschatology is that which would identify church and world, or fuse the two aeons in the present age without the act of God whereby evil is removed from the scene. This means a confusion between the providential purpose of the state, that of achieving a “tolerable balance of egoisms”... and the redemptive purpose of the church, the rejection of egoism in the commitment to discipleship.²³⁷

Third, this confusion led to a paganisation within the church and a demonisation of the state. A typical example in the Old Testament is the story of Jeremiah and the false prophets in the Book of Jeremiah:

The common understanding of religion in the ancient Middle East was that of the tribal deity, a god whose significance was not ethical but ceremonial. God’s purpose was not to tell his people how to live but to support their tribal unity and guarantee their prosperity through the observance of the proper cultic rites. This pagan attitude came to light in Israel as well as in the form of the false prophets, whose significance in Old Testament times we often underestimate. Whereas the true prophets of the Lord proclaimed YHWH’s ethical requirements, judgment, and call to repentance, the false prophets were supported by the state in return for their support of the state’s projects.²³⁸

And the final ravage of the “constantinization of the church” on the distinctiveness of eschatology is the emphasis on “the logic of the ‘strategic’ attitude toward ethical decisions” that is caused by “the acceptance of effectiveness itself as a goal.”²³⁹

Even if we know effectiveness is to be measured – that is, even if we could get a clear definition of the goal we are trying to reach and how to ascertain whether we had reached it – is there not in Christ’s teaching on meekness, or in the attitude of Jesus toward power and servanthood, a deeper question being raised about whether it is our business at all to guide our action by the course we wish history to take?²⁴⁰

In summary, Yoder’s remark concerning the church and state relationship, namely,

²³⁶ Ibid., 60.

²³⁷ Yoder, “Peace Without Eschatology?” 153.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus: Behold the Man, Our Victorious*, 230.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

Constantinianism, after Constantine is a vivid remark:

The classic expression of this attitude in the Christian epoch is known as Constantinianism; the term refers to the conception of Christianity that took shape in the century between the Edict of Milan and the City of God. The Central nature of this change, which Constantine himself did not invent nor force upon the church, is not a matter of doctrine nor of polity; it is the identification of church and world in mutual approval and support exchanged by Constantine and the bishop...The church does not preach ethics, judgment, repentance, separation from the world; it dispenses sacraments and holds society together. Christian ethics no longer means the study of what God wants of us; since all the society is Christian...Christian ethics must be workable for all of society.²⁴¹

Stanley Hauerwas describes that Constantinianism as a hard habit to break. It is particularly hard when it seems that Christians can do so much good by remaining "in power." It is hard to break because all categories have been set by the church's establishment as a necessary part of Western civilization.²⁴² Nigel Goring Wright interprets Constantine's action as political expediency rather than Christian conversion. The establishment of the state church "represented the loss of authentic Christianity."²⁴³ Wright offers a working definition of Constantinianism, enabling us to have a better understanding of the phenomenon:

Constantinianism is the explicit or implicit attempt by the Christian church acting from a position of power, privilege or patronage to impose Christian values by the use of social and political power in what are believed to be the interests of the kingdom of God.²⁴⁴

Based on the discourse of Yoder and Hauerwas, Clapp also provides an explanation of the nature and problems of the Constantinian church as follows:

The Constantinian church is *by definition* reactive and reflexive to the surrounding culture. It completely forgets the church's own culture-forming and sustaining capabilities. It denies any real tension between the church and the world; it overlooks the biblical awareness of Christians as nomads and resident aliens who will never be completely at home in a fallen world—even an affluent and exceedingly comfortable fallen world. And it aligns the church with power, against those out of power.²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ Yoder, "Peace Without Eschatology?," 153-154.

²⁴² Hauerwas, *After Christendom?*, 18-19.

²⁴³ Nigel Goring Wright, *Disavowing Constantine: Mission, Church and the Social Order in the Theologies of John Howard Yoder and Jurgen Moltmann* (Carlisle, England: Paternoster Press, 2000), 15.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

²⁴⁵ Clapp, *A Peculiar People*, 39.

Yoder develops four terms to classify subsequent versions of that model: neo-Constantinianism, neo-neo-Constantinianism, neo-neo-neo-Constantinianism, and neo-neo-neo-neo-Constantinianism. Firstly, "neo-," refers to the new national Protestant church which served the nation-state in the sixteenth century.²⁴⁶ Secondly, "neo-neo-," refers to the church after the Enlightenment and American Revolution. The church and state as institutions were gradually becoming less linked with the development of religious liberty and with the disestablishment of the church.²⁴⁷ However, "forms of institutional interlocking develop which partly deny the theory of separation (chaplaincies, tax exemptions)."²⁴⁸ The church has remained informally powerful, as observed in North America, Europe, and those Western colonies, like Hong Kong. Thirdly, "neo-neo-neo-," refers to the church under Communist and totalitarian regimes. For instance, the Christians in Communist countries remain patriotic, and the church is in fact not disestablished, but financed by the Marxist regimes.²⁴⁹ Lastly, "neo-neo-neo-neo-," refers to the neo-Marxist regimes established by "revolution" or "liberation" movement in the Third World, such as Latin America.²⁵⁰

Among the various types of the Constantinian church, the second type, "neo-neo-Constantinianism" best describes the colonial church-state context of Hong Kong, that is, the church remains informally powerful and it functions as an informal administrative agency of the government, or as a part of the government. This seems to be a genuine characteristic and accurate description of the church-state relationship in Hong Kong. Thus, the strength of the concept of the Constantinian church is that its explication covers the theological, social and political areas of the church-state issue. Michael Cartwright rightly points out that "Yoder's purpose in delineating the distinctions is precisely to situate these developments as *sociologically and historically different* while structurally similar in terms of their use of the established political mechanisms of control available in each cultural situation."²⁵¹ As stated above, three

²⁴⁶ John Howard Yoder, "Christ the Hope of the World," chapter in *The Original Revolution: Essays on Christian Pacifism* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1998), 150-51.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 151-52.

²⁴⁸ Yoder, "The Constantinian Sources of Western Social Ethics," 142.

²⁴⁹ Yoder, "Christ the Hope of the World," 152-53.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 153-54.

²⁵¹ Michael G. Cartwright, "Radical Reform, Radical Catholicity: John Howard Yoder's Vision of the Faithful Church," in *The Royal Priesthood: Essays Ecclesiological and Ecumenical*, ed. Michael G. Cartwright, foreword by Richard J. Mouw (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania and Waterloo, Ontario: Herald Press, 1998), 11.

pieces of evidence point to the violation of the principles of church-state separation in Hong Kong. Firstly, Bishop Hall proposed the subsidizing church run schools as a means of preventing the spread of Communism. Secondly, ministers, who are superintendents of schools and directors of social centres enjoy tremendous social influence through their posts. Finally, government policies have given Hong Kong churches a considerable advantage in evangelism on campus. Accordingly, the church-state relationship in Hong Kong does not conform to the mode of separation of church and state. The predicament in which Hong Kong's church and state finds itself is the typical colonial church-state mode, which Yoder calls "neo-neo-Constantinianism."

Church's Mission and Christendom

In the section of 'Mission or coercion?' of chapter six of *The Desire of the Nations*, O'Donovan presents two analytical observations about the historical phases of Christendom. First, "The Christendom idea has to be located correctly as an aspect of the church's understanding of *mission*." Second, "The Christendom idea describes a *mutual service* between the two authorities, predicated on the difference and the balance of their roles."²⁵² These analyses provide a venue for discussion.

Undoubtedly, O'Donovan considers church's mission to be crucial in the formation of Christendom and their relationship seems to be causal and peculiar:

The core-idea of Christendom is...intimately bound up with the church's mission. But the relationship between mission and Christian political order should not be misconstrued. It is not...that Christian political order is a *project* of the church's mission...The church's one project is to witness to the Kingdom of God. Christendom is *response* to mission, and as such a sign that God has blessed it. It is constituted not by the church's seizing alien power, but by alien power's becoming attentive to the church.²⁵³

In other words, there would not have been Christendom if there were no such mission assigned to the church. Christendom "is response to" to the church's mission, that is, the former is the dependent variable, and the latter is the independent variable. According to O'Donovan's logic, the church's mission is to evangelize the world, which is God's blessing and clear command in the Bible. Thus, Christendom

²⁵² O'Donovan, *The Desire of the Nations*, 211-226.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 195.

can be regarded as a historical destiny and an inevitable outcome, since it is the meaning of accomplishing the mission of witnessing God's kingdom.

O'Donovan, nevertheless, admits the negative effect imposed by the church-state alliance was that the development of the church's mission was severely hampered by this peculiar relationship between the church and the state in Christendom:

The ambiguities of Christendom, meanwhile, arose from a loss of focus on its missionary context. Once the two societies came to be seen as a single society, it was more difficult to frame the church-state partnership in terms of the eschatological Kingdom. It could seem, by a kind of optical illusion, that there was no more mission to be done.²⁵⁴

However, O'Donovan seems to defend the Constantinian church, whereas Yoder sees Christendom as defined by the Constantinian church as responsible for the Western church's disgraceful history. O'Donovan is apparently attempting to exculpate the church from the charge by claiming that the church "is not at liberty to withdraw from mission; nor may it undertake its mission without confident hope of success."²⁵⁵

It was the missionary imperative that compelled the church to take the conversion of the empire seriously and to seize the opportunities it offered. These were not merely opportunities for 'power'. They were opportunities for preaching the Gospel, baptising believers, curbing the violence and cruelty of empire and, perhaps most important of all, forgiving their former persecutors.²⁵⁶

What does O'Donovan mean? Does he mean that, in the name of God's mission, the church may justify any faults it may have committed? Should the scandalous history of Christendom, in medieval Europe and modern non-western world, be forgiven; since all the church does in its mission is for that sake of God's kingdom? Can the accomplishment of the mission wipe out the outrage of Christendom? Does he mean that the church should not be responsible for its shameful history, but God should be held accountable, since the church was only an executive arm of God's mission? Does he mean that the end can justify the means, as long as the mission can be accomplished, the method of evangelism that involved in certain injustice and unrighteousness can be overlooked?

As an Asian Christian with the third world's perspective, this writer is unable to

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 212-13.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 212.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

find, in O'Donovan's discourse, a fair and satisfactory explanation of the shameful and inhuman history of the church-state alliance of Western Christendom during the periods of colonialism and imperialism since the so-called 'discovery of America' in the fifteenth century by the Spanish military conquest, as described by Luis N. Rivera in *A Violent Evangelism*. O'Donovan seems to imply that the church in the West (Christendom) was not responsible for the past five hundred years of western colonialism and imperialism. Perhaps O'Donovan has never been aware of the seriousness of the problem: the negative impact and distorted image of Christianity among the Chinese people due to the church's involvement in the imperialism and colonialism of the western powers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This may be one reason why he seems to have no reflection and awareness of the negative consequences of Christendom. Ironically, Pope John Paul II made the historically "public act of repentance"²⁵⁷ on "Request for Forgiveness Day,"²⁵⁸ on March 12, 2000, which was "the first call by any pope for such a sweeping pardon for past and present wrongs."²⁵⁹ The Pope "begged God's forgiveness Sunday for sins committed or condoned by Roman Catholics over the last 2,000 years," including "the holy wars of the Crusades, the executions of heretics and other non-Catholics by courts of the Inquisition, and the forced conversions of native peoples in Africa and the Americas."²⁶⁰ Then, how could O'Donovan ignore those pages of history? There is a quite acerbic but apt comment regarding his lack of awareness in the following review:

Perhaps the monotonal nature of academic life in Oxford has somewhat dampened a much-needed sensitivity to those socio-political and religio-cultural issues generated by our increasingly pluriform society.²⁶¹

In fact, Duncan Forrester implicitly shares an observation of O'Donovan's

²⁵⁷ Alessandra Stanley, 'Pope Asks Forgiveness for Errors of the Church Over 2,000 Years', *New York Times*, 13 March, 2000, International Section; available from <http://www.nytimes.com/library/world/global/031300pope-apology.html>; Internet; accessed 17 January 2001.

²⁵⁸ Paddy Agnew, "Pope to seek forgiveness for historical wrongs," *The Irish Times*, 8 March, 2000, Front Page; available from <http://www.ireland.com/newspaper/front/2000/0308/fro3.htm>; Internet; accessed 17 January 2001.

²⁵⁹ Richard Boudreaux, "Pope Apologizes for Catholic Sins Past and Present," *Los Angeles Times*, 13 March, 2000, Nation Section; available from http://www.latimes.com/news/nation/updates/lat_forgive000313.htm; Internet; accessed 17 January, 2001.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Andrew Dawson, review of *The Desire of the Nations*, in *Epworth Review* 24:104 Ap 1997.

one-sided argument in his review of this book:

O'Donovan's account is a powerful and necessary corrective to glib denunciations of Christendom as an area of darkness. There are...important lessons of continuing relevance to be learned from the Christendom experience. But the balance sheet of Christendom is perhaps more uncertain than he allows.²⁶²

Looking into the practice of martyrdom, O'Donovan praises it rapturously and considers it as "a form the church's mission must take."²⁶³ The importance of martyrdom is:

Since true martyrdom is powerful force and its resistance to Antichrist effective, the church must be prepared to welcome the homage of the kings when it is offered to the Lord of the martyrs.²⁶⁴

O'Donovan, thus, reckons martyrdom as a vital element of church growth and a substantial way of witness:

The growth of the church, its enablement to reconstruct civilizational practices and institutions, its effectiveness in communicating the Gospel: these follow from the courage of the martyrs, and the church honours them when it seizes the opportunities they have made available to it. No honour is paid to martyrs if they are presented as mere dissidents, whose sole glory was to refuse the cultural order that was on offer to them.²⁶⁵

In summary, O'Donovan's justification of Christendom is that, firstly, the church's mission is God's imperative so that the church had no choice and had to respond to it. Therefore, the church grasped every opportunity to preach the gospel in order to make disciples, both of the people and of the empire. In other words, the primary cause of the existence of Christendom is for the sake of expanding God's kingdom. Thus, Christendom is a consequence of the church's fulfilment of God's command, i.e. the church tried every means to achieve the mission assigned by God, including the strategy of being co-opted as part of the empire. Secondly, martyrdom is a vital essence of church growth and an effective way of evangelism. In O'Donovan's presentation, it seems that the very essence of the spirit of Christendom is how to expand effectively the kingdom of God and the negative consequences can be overlooked for the sake of the gospel and in the name of missions. Effectiveness

²⁶² Duncan Forrester, review of *The Desire of the Nations*, in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, ns 48:758 Oct 1997.

²⁶³ O'Donovan, *The Desire of the Nations*, 215.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

of evangelism, thus, seems to be one of the crucial considerations of Christendom.

There are some pieces of contemplation regarding Christendom and the church in the context of Hong Kong.

Firstly, O'Donovan argues that conversion of the empire is "the missionary imperative that compelled the church." What is the meaning of "the conversion of the empire"? Does Jesus ask us to make disciples of the empire or the state or the government? How could the empire or the state or the government become Christian? Does he mean that the empire or the state would become Christian after the conversion of the king or government officials?

Secondly, O'Donovan explains that opportunities were offered to the Christians, not only opportunities for 'power', but also "opportunities for preaching the Gospel, baptising believers..." His statement is illuminating when it is read in the context of Hong Kong, as it gives a justification to the Christian community in Hong Kong, by and large, which is satisfied with the status quo before the handover of 1997. Particularly many Christian leaders, both pastors and laity, have enjoyed the privilege, respect, social and political power established in the colonial age. They have become accustomed and conditioned to the social settings and cannot live without them. They claimed that for the sake of the gospel, the church-state relationship should not be changed. As mentioned before, the Rev. Kwok Nai-wang describes a deplorable situation in which many ministers, who are superintendents of schools, directors of social services centres, and trustees of hospitals, etc., candidly told him that the above posts have granted them tremendous influence, which guarantees them the opportunity to do bigger jobs for Jesus; therefore, they have no intention of giving them up. The phenomenon in Hong Kong reflects the mentality of effectiveness among the church's leaders, which may be rooted in the heritage of Christendom in the era of colonial Hong Kong.²⁶⁶

Thirdly, as Hauerwas admonishes us that the church has no place to withdraw as it is surrounded by the society. What the church should do is "give up the presumptions of Constantinian power,"²⁶⁷ rather than withdraw. It can be reckoned as one of his allegations to refute the label "sectarian" imposed upon him and Yoder by their fellow theologians. He explains:

²⁶⁶ Yoder's discourse on mentality of effectiveness will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

²⁶⁷ Hauerwas, *After Christendom?*, 18.

Which explains why those who describe my position as “sectarian” are at once partly right and partly wrong. They are wrong just to the extent they accept the politics that produces the description “sectarian.” I certainly am not suggesting that Christians must “withdraw” from the world. Yet those who describe me as “sectarian” are right to sense that I am trying to find ways for Christians to recover the church as the locus of habits of speech to sustain our lives in service to the world.²⁶⁸

In fact, Constantinianism is an irresistible temptation to the church, particularly “when the church can do so much good by remaining ‘in power’.”²⁶⁹ It seems to be the case of Hong Kong. Moreover, both Hauerwas and Yoder urge the church to have a practice of “let the church be the church.” Yoder claims that it is a call to the church to stop doing other things and to be the church again.²⁷⁰ The mentality and function of caretaker of the church in society has to be forsaken.

Fourthly, the irony raised by Hauerwas, a mentality of “the continued social and cultural hegemony of generalized Christian presuppositions,”²⁷¹ should not be found in Hong Kong which is not a Christendom context. However, another irony exists that Christians in Hong Kong have a misunderstanding or misconception that they represent the mainstream opinion in Hong Kong. One of the possible causes may be the special social status given to the church by the colonial government. What is the significance of this mentality in the context of Hong Kong?

These questions are the core issues to be addressed in the construction of Hong Kong’s church-state model in the following chapter.

Conclusion

The concept of administrative absorption of politics is probably the most significant model for explaining the socio-political dynamic of colonial Hong Kong. The colonial government strove to absorb most of the social forces into the establishment in order to maintain political stability. In the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, many Chinese church leaders were also the leaders of the community, causing them to face the problem of the overlapping roles. One of the consequences was the dilution of the church’s prophetic vision and voices in society.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 6-7.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 18.

²⁷⁰ Yoder, “Let the Church be the Church,” 113-14.

²⁷¹ Hauerwas, *After Christendom?*, 25.

The privileges and prestige in the community granted to the churches and their leaders by the colonial government fostered a dependent mentality among Christians. The reviewed models constructed by the scholars in Hong Kong are helpful to analyse the phenomena from a political-sociological perspective. However, their common drawback is in their incompetence in pinpointing the most crucial factor of the church-state relationship in Hong Kong. That is, the church in the colony is bound to be influenced, even controlled, by the government, because it was a colonial church and inherently a Constantinian church. Such a weakness seems to be aptly identified by Yoder's criticism of Constantinianism. Among the various types of the Constantinian church, "neo-neo-Constantinianism" best describes the colonial church-state context of Hong Kong, that is, the church remains informally powerful and it functions as an informal administrative agency of the government or as a part of the government. As depicted by Stanley Hauerwas, Constantinianism is a hard habit to break when it seems that Christians can do so much good by remaining "in power." It is, undoubtedly, a vivid and felicitous remark describing the mentality of Hong Kong Christians. In fact, the strength of the concept of the Constantinian church is that its explication covers the theological, social, and political areas of the church-state issue.

CHAPTER FIVE

FROM CONSTANTINIANISM TO DIASPORA

Hong Kong is, as stated at the beginning of this thesis, in a process of transition after the July 1997 handover. Tung Chee-hwa, the first Chief Executive of the SAR and a professed Confucian, announced that he would adopt the Confucian values as his ruling philosophy.¹ Tung publicly admitted his admiration of Lee Kuan-yew, former Prime Minister of Singapore (1959-1990), who was also committed to implanting Confucian beliefs in his country. Observers associated Tung's preference for the Confucian values with the promotion of these values as a contributory factor to the establishing of the "Chinese Socialistic Market Economic System" in Mainland China. This effort has been called the renaissance of Confucianism.² Some signs of change include enlisting both Buddhist and Taoist leaders in the new arrangement of the order of protocol at major official functions and removing Christian leaders' privileges of appointed seats in the Legislative Council, as well as successfully passing the bill to make Buddha's birthday a public holiday. It is widely believed that the Tung administration would be probably not allow the Christian community in Hong Kong to assume the social status of prominence as it enjoyed during the colonial period.³ Clearly, the Christian community has had to adjust to becoming peripheral in the post-colonial era. There is a process of "de-constantinianisation" at work in which official state support of the Christian community as the privileged community is taking place.

The focus of this chapter is to construct the Jeremianic model and to employ the concepts of this model as the criteria for explicating the mentality and strategies of the Baptist social ministry in Hong Kong. The chapter is composed of three parts: Firstly, a construction of the Jeremianic model is introduced and its applicability in the context of Hong Kong is appraised. Secondly, "effectiveness" and "faithfulness," two

¹ Kwok Nai-wang, *Hong Kong After 1997: The First 1000 Days* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Christian Institute, 2000), 144; Kwong Chunwah, *Hong Kong's Religions in Transition: The Restructuring of Religions During Hong Kong's Incorporation into Mainland China (1984-1998)* (Waco, Texas: Tao Foundation, 2000), 173.

² Kwong, *Hong Kong's Religions in Transition*, 173. In fact, many overseas observers, such as Donald A. McGavran, believed that Confucianism was finished and Buddhism was greatly weakened in China after the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976); see Donald A. McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, revised and ed. C. Peter Wagner (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1980), 185.

³ Kwok, *Hong Kong After 1997*, 144-45; Kwong, *Hong Kong's Religions in Transition*, 174-75.

key features of the model are the main criteria for shedding light on Baptists' mentality and strategies of their social ministry. Finally, the special way Yoder understands "the church as a worshipping community" is held up as an important source which could enable Baptists to develop a faithful practice of worship. This is considered a key to the revitalisation of a faithful church-state practice.

The Jeremianic Model

As mentioned in Chapter Four, one of the recognised complications of researching Yoder's thought is that he did not produce a systematic work on theological ethics. However, a way to understand how three themes emerge in Yoder's writings and speaking: The first theme is the rebellion against liberal European and American theology, due to the influence of his teacher Karl Barth at Basel. The second theme grew out of the influence of Harold S. Bender, an influential Mennonite historian and his teacher at Goshen, Indiana. Bender maintains that the historic Anabaptists were not "the horse-and-buggy traditionalist" contemporary Mennonites suppose, but were radical reformers. The last theme is the centrality of scripture, which serves to correct and expand the previous two themes.⁴ The observation that the recovery of the Jewish-Christian relations and that the paths of Christianity and Judaism have run in a tense and strained parallel throughout history is one of Yoder's lifelong research interests.⁵ Yoder presumes that the Jewish-Christian reality of the second to the fourth centuries of the Common Era would explain the relations among Jews and various Christian traditions, including "Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, 'mainstream' Protestant, and the heirs of the 'radical reformation'".⁶

For the Nations, Yoder's final publication before his death on December 30, 1997, represents one of his significant endeavours on the issues of Jewish-Christian relations and Christian social ethics.⁷ The book, organized as a collection of essays,

⁴ Curtis W. Freeman, James William McClendon, Jr., and C. Rosalee Velloso da Silva, ed., *Baptist Roots: A Reader in the Theology of a Christian People* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Judson Press, 1999), 390.

⁵ James William McClendon, Jr., "John Howard Yoder, One of Our Own (1927-1997)," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 25, 1 (spring 1998): 25.

⁶ Michael G. Cartwright and Peter Ochs, "Editors' Introduction," in *The Jewish-Christian Schism Revisited*, ed. Michael G. Cartwright and Peter Ochs (London, UK: SCM Press, 2003), 7.

⁷ The book consists of twelve chapters, grouped under four units: Presence "for the Nations," Presence and Power in the Revolution, Basics, and Ecumenical Testimonies. The first unit, Presence "for the Nations" stands out as the spine of the main argument of the book. The other sections elaborate of the first unit as they discuss the theological, ecclesiological, and ecumenical bases for social action of the people of God on behalf of the nations. Most of the chapters are relatively recent

is like *The Royal Priesthood* but unlike *The Politics of Jesus*, which was organized in advance on a single issue “for presentation to a specific audience.” Yoder has claims that these latest essays state his positions clearly since he knows his audience.⁸ To put it simply, Yoder’s objective of the project is an attempt to construct a Christian ethics paradigm substantively based upon Judaic roots. This paradigm is able to strengthen the case for the relevance of biblical realism by drawing on the Old Testament’s rich Jewish tradition, for example the Exile on which Yoder developed his theological characteristics and assets.⁹ Yoder thereby demonstrates that biblical realism is not limited to the New Testament with its examples from Jesus’ ministry, which has been dismissed as irrelevant by the mainstream theologians. Moreover, Yoder’s commitment to the centrality of scripture enables him to read the Bible historically, enabling him to identify a trajectory in which the Old Testament is moving and to specify how the Old Testament is fulfilled in the New.¹⁰

The sources of the construction of Yoder’s Jeremianic model are mainly his writings on Christian social ethics, “Exodus and Exile: The Two Faces of Liberation” (1973), *For the Nations: Essays Evangelical and Public* (1997), and *Body Politics* (1992).

and never published materials. John Howard Yoder, “Introduction,” chap. in *For the Nations: Essays Evangelical and Public* (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 1997), 5.

⁸ Ibid., 11. However, it seems that Yoder does not realize it can be a shortcoming, as the background of the essays is not provided. For those readers who are not familiar with the backdrop would have difficulty to understand the arguments of his essays.

⁹ John Howard Yoder, “Introduction,” chap. in *The Priestly Kingdom: Social Ethics as Gospel* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 10.

¹⁰ Craig A. Carter, *The Politics of the Cross: The Theology and Social Ethics of John Howard Yoder* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Brazos Press, 2001), 152. Certainly, there are disagreements on Yoder’s discourse on Jewish Christianity in academia. For instance, A. James Reimer criticises that “Yoder is rather selective in his choice of a slice of Jewish experience (diaspora synagogue culture, the ‘joseph’ paradigm), and making that normative not only for the whole of Judaism but also for the whole of Christianity. Is this a comprehensive enough picture of the Jewish story, and the Christian narrative as it has developed over the millennia?” “For Yoder, because exilic culture is ethically and politically normative, it is not clear whether and how God is at work outside that alien community. If exile and diaspora are the norm, how is a unified vision ever possible?” (446-47) For details, see A. James Reimer, “Theological Orthodoxy and Jewish Christianity: A Personal Tribute to John Howard Yoder,” in *The Wisdom of the Cross: Essays in Honor of John Howard Yoder*, Stanley Hauerwas, Chris K. Huebner, Harry J. Huebner, Mark Thiessen Nation (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 1999), 430-48; Gerald W. Schlabach, “Deuteronomic or Constantianian: What Is the Most Basic Problem of Christian Social Ethics,” in *The Wisdom of the Cross: Essays in Honor of John Howard Yoder*, Stanley Hauerwas, Chris K. Huebner, Harry J. Huebner, Mark Thiessen Nation (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 1999), 449-71; Peter Ochs offers his critique of Yoder’s writing in *The Jewish-Christian Schism Revisited* from a Judaic perspective.

Exodus and Exile

The Exodus narrative is the most important paradigm of suffering and oppression for liberation theology of Latin America. As Gustavo Gutierrez has said, "[t]he Exodus experience is paradigmatic."¹¹ In fact, it has become the most popular paradigm for Christian action on behalf of the oppressed. The Exodus narrative, for example, became the paradigm of *The Kairos Covenant*, constituting the core theme of Chapter Four, "Toward a Prophetic Theology," since the Kairos theologians of South Africa have drunk deeply from the wells of Latin American theologians.¹² Nevertheless, Yoder reads the Exodus narrative from a different perspective, giving us his own distinct understanding of it.

In his essay, "Exodus and Exile: The Two Faces of Liberation,"¹³ Yoder admits the narrative of Exodus has been accepted as the paradigm of liberation theology:

It seemed self-evident to many that the dominant biblical image is that of Exodus and that by taking off from the event of Exodus it would be possible in some broad sense to have a 'Biblical Basis' for an especially committed Christian involvement in the political struggles of our age.¹⁴

However, inspired by Jose Miguez Bonino, an Argentinean Protestant liberation theologian, Yoder questions the paradigm of the Exodus, insisted upon by most liberation theologians, when he asks:

...why it should be so obvious that out of the total biblical heritage it should be dominantly or even exclusively the picture of Exodus which becomes illuminating and motivating, without equal reference to exile, captivity, cross, the giving of the law, the taking of the land, the scattering of the faithful or other major themes of the biblical witness.¹⁵

Yoder believes that the biblical basis of liberation theology needs correction and

¹¹ Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, rev. ed. with a new introduction (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1988), 90.

¹² Willis H. Logan, ed., *The Kairos Covenant: Standing with South African Christians* (New York, New York, Friendship Press, 1988), 25-36. The Kairos Document is a Christian, biblical, and theological comment on the political crisis in South Africa before the fall of the apartheid white regime in May 1994. In its preface, it states that the Document "is a critique of the current theological models that determine the type of activities the church engages in to try to resolve the problems of the country." (2)

¹³ John Howard Yoder, "Exodus and Exile: The Two Faces of Liberation," in *Readings in Moral Theology No. 4: The Use of Scripture in Moral Theology*, ed. Charles E. Curran and Richard A. McCormick, S.J. (Ramsey, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1984), 337-353. This essay first appeared in *Cross Currents* 23 (fall 1973-74): 297-309.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 338.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

enlargement.¹⁶ He, thus, offers his five-point observation taken from the Exodus narrative as a counter-argument against the paradigm:

Firstly, “the Exodus was not a program but a miracle.” The wars of the Exodus “were not rationally planned and pragmatically executed military operations,” but miracles.¹⁷ In many battles, the Israelites “did not even use arms” and the combatant was “JHWH Himself.”¹⁸

Secondly, “the Exodus was not a takeover but a withdrawal.” The model of liberation theology in our time is for the subject or oppressed “to seize sovereignty within the land within which they are oppressed, taking that sovereignty away from a foreign power or from a feudal minority in their own society.”¹⁹ However, this is not what the Exodus did. Exodus means going out and the only reason for plagues and death in Egypt is that “the hardness of Pharaoh’s heart would not permit the Exodus to be peaceful.” Moses was no Bonhoeffer and the old tyranny was destroyed not by revolution, “but by the way the presence of the independent counter community (and its withdrawal) provokes Pharaoh to overreach himself.”²⁰

Thirdly, “the Exodus was not a beginning but a culmination.” The Exodus was a leap of faith, not based on any calculation of their capacity to destroy the Egyptians. The Israelites had fostered “a sense of communal solidarity and vocation” before Exodus. They had survived “through the plagues as an experience of their distinct identity as objects of God’s care.”²¹ Yoder argues that the Israelites formed the identity of the people of God before Exodus:

Goshen is prior to Exodus. The identity of the people, and even in a serious sense the identity of the liberating God himself were dependent upon the confessing community. The God of their Fathers could not have called them to the Red Sea if they had not already been a people under the whips. Peoplehood is the presupposition, not the product of Exodus.²²

In other words, “to be oppressed together is not sufficient to constitute a people.” Therefore, Exodus is “not a paradigm for all kinds of groups with all kinds of values to

¹⁶ Freeman, McClendon, and Velloso da Silva, ed., *Baptist Roots*, 391.

¹⁷ Yoder, “Exodus and Exile: The Two Faces of Liberation,” 340.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 341.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 341-42.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 342.

²² *Ibid.*, 343.

attain all kinds of salvation,” but a “particular form of withdrawal into insecurity.”²³ The meaning of Exodus, thus, is that the “people of God is not everybody” or “not of any and all suffering peoples.”²⁴ It refers only to Jews and Christians, oppressed and wandering minority people. It is part of a larger complex. It refers to those whose “peoplehood with a history and a trust in the God who has led the fathers is prior to liberation.”²⁵

Fourthly, “Exodus is only the beginning.” The slogan “Exodus before Sinai” presupposes that “liberation is a single and final event; that is the claim that justifies treating its violence as a legitimate ethical exception.” But in fact, Sinai was a desert and a place of new bondage, not the Promised Land. The Sinai experience was “the formal constitution of Israel as a community under the law. This consolidation of the community is part of the meaning of liberation”;²⁶ namely, “Sinai is the formation of a community.”²⁷ The dialectical relationship between Exodus and Sinai is that:

Exodus was the leap of faith but Sinai was its landing. Historically Exodus was the prerequisite of Sinai, but morally it is the other way around. Liberation is *from* bondage and *for* covenant, and *what for* matters more than *what from*.²⁸

In other words, liberation “is not a revolution but only a threshold linking two phases of pilgrim peoplehood.”²⁹ Thus, the importance the exodus can be summarized as follows:

The primary resources for the Exodus are *not* located in the money or the weapons or the stratagems brought to bear at a particular point to destroy some tyrant. They are *rather* the prior developments of an identity, a common story, a sense of community and purpose and a set of expectations as to the shape of the divine initiative, without which the story of the Red Sea would have no frame and no point (emphasis mine).³⁰

Finally, “Exodus is an exception.” There is only one Exodus in the history of Israel. Yoder admonishes that over-concentration on Exodus would cause an omission of other relevant elements in the Bible:

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., 344.

²⁵ Ibid., 345.

²⁶ Ibid., 346.

²⁷ Ibid., 347.

²⁸ Ibid., 346.

²⁹ Ibid., 347.

³⁰ Ibid.

Israel's experience with trying Kingship and even empire, and ultimately abandoning them, is part of the lesson of the biblical witness; exile and the abandoning of nationhood as the form of peoplehood are prophetically interpreted as the way of JHWH. Ezra and Nehemiah reestablish the community precisely without national sovereignty.³¹

Contrarily, most of the themes relevant to the oppressed people in the Old Testament focus on the model of Diaspora, that is "how to live under a pagan oppressor" and to "seek the welfare of the city." This is the model taken over by the New Testament Church and rabbinic Judaism for two millennia.³² Among all the prophetic teaching, Jeremiah's advice in Jeremiah 29:1, 5-9 is considered to be the foundation of the paradigm of Diaspora by Yoder. He paraphrased as follows:

You'll be in Babylon a long time. Seek the peace of that city.
Identify your welfare with theirs. Abandon the vision of statehood.³³

Briefly, three aspects of the meaning of liberation in the Exodus are noted: Firstly, the form of liberation in the biblical witness is not the guerrilla war against the oppressor, but rather the creation of a confessing community which does not count on force of the state or some power structure. Secondly, the content of liberation in the biblical witness is not the "nation-state brotherhood," but "the covenant-peoplehood" granted by God. Thirdly, the means of liberation in the biblical witness is "not prudentially justified violence" but God's mighty acts embodied in the events of crossing the Red Sea as well as the kings are being moved to be gracious to Esther, or to Daniel, or to Nehemiah.³⁴

In short, Yoder's core argument is that the Exodus is the starting point on the way of Diaspora³⁵ and liberation is not a new king, but the presence of a new option that only a non-conformed, covenanted people of God can offer and achieve.³⁶ Yoder offers a new understanding of liberation in the exodus:

Liberation is the pressure of the presence of a new alternative so valid, so coherent, that it can live without the props of power and against the stream of statesmanship. To *be* that option is to be free indeed.³⁷

³¹ Ibid., 348.

³² Ibid., 348-49.

³³ Ibid., 349.

³⁴ Ibid., 351.

³⁵ Ibid., 349.

³⁶ Ibid., 352.

³⁷ Ibid.

Accordingly, the role of the church, namely the social ethics of the church, is to render a new way of life to the world:

What the world most needs is not a new Caesar but a new style. A style is created, updated, projected, not by a nation or a government, but by a people. This is what moral minorities can do – what they have done time and again.³⁸

It would appear that Yoder's concept of the Jeremianic model in *For the Nations: Essays Evangelical and Public* is a further elaboration of the theme of Exodus and Exile.

The Sectarian Church

In the title of his book, *For the Nations*, Yoder signifies his persistent commitment to his convictions even as it suggests his intentions in writing the book. The backdrop for Yoder's title is the Babylonian exile, when the Jews faced the "question of whether to make themselves at home there [Babylon] or to constitute an alien enclave."³⁹ According to Yoder, the solution to the dilemma was found in "YHWH's command, through Jeremiah, 'Seek the peace of the city where I have sent you.'" This imperative "engaged the Jews to live for the nations."⁴⁰ In keeping with his title, Yoder asserts the theme of social responsibility throughout his book as he adopts "the tone of voice, or the style and stance, of the people of God in the dispersion."⁴¹

Being defined as a "sectarian" by his contemporary American theologians, Yoder undergoes a deep identification with the exiled Jews. He believes "[a] Christian minority group in a culture created by Christian majority groups faces a different form of the problem of the Jeremian migrants."⁴² Yoder considers "sectarian" to be a pejorative term imposed by the religious establishment, which "does not mean the majority," but they are "the minority who are in dominant social roles and claim the authority to speak for everyone."⁴³ In the past, Yoder has not raised this issue of theological bias because he has focused on more urgent issues, such as violence and

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Yoder, "Introduction," chap. in *For the Nations*, 1.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 3.

⁴¹ Ibid., 1.

⁴² Ibid., 3.

⁴³ Ibid., footnote 4.

infant baptism.⁴⁴ Yoder is now ready to confront his critics from the establishment. They claim that the writing in his book, *The Royal Priesthood*, is an apologetics for the mission of the "sectarian" Christian community as it stands "against the nations." Yoder insists that the title points to the very opposite idea, which is that his "sectarian" ethics are intended "for the nations." Facing all his critics, he insists that his sectarian position "is a more ecumenical and more 'catholic' way to be a Christian" than the American mainstream Protestant church.⁴⁵

Obviously, the issue of "sectarian" is one of the focal combat points between the mainstream theologians and Yoder. Since he has suffered "misunderstanding and misrepresentation"⁴⁶ of his ethical stance, this book is Yoder's "self-defense against inaccurate characterizations."⁴⁷ He rejects labels such as "purist" and "withdrawn" which often used to describe him. He insists that the thesis of the book "does not represent a change of [his] convictions,"⁴⁸ since his stance is both consistent and persistent. In fact, Yoder adopts Karl Barth's idea of sectarian in his writings:

This term, in this usage, has to do not with the narrowness of the "sect's" truth claims, or the pettiness of its cultural self-understanding, nor with the size of group, but with the quality of the group's recognition that it is not in control of the wider society.⁴⁹

Peter Ochs stands up for Yoder by saying "Yoder's Anabaptism displays a Christianity that neither fears nor condemns life apart."⁵⁰ James McClendon also defends Yoder against the accusation that Yoder's church-state idea is not withdrawal. McClendon points out that Yoder also criticised his own denomination's withdrawal from the envioning culture.

During this creative post-war period in Mennonite thought, Yoder contributed to a series of "Concern" pamphlets that gained a wide circulation. In due course he also wrote a small volume on church and state, *The Christian Witness to the State* (1959). This and other booklets criticized both Protestant cultural complacency and Mennonite withdrawal from the envioning culture.⁵¹

⁴⁴ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ John Howard Yoder, "Why Ecclesiology Is Social Ethics: Gospel Ethics Versus the Wider Wisdom," in *The Royal Priesthood: Essays Ecclesiological and Ecumenical*, ed. Michael G. Cartwright, foreword by Richard J. Mouw (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania and Waterloo, Ontario: Herald Press, 1998), 108.

⁵⁰ Michael G. Cartwright and Peter Ochs, "Editors' Introduction," 2.

⁵¹ McClendon, Jr., "John Howard Yoder, One of Our Own (1927-1997)," 22.

Contrarily, Yoder criticises a problem existing among the mainstream Protestant churches: most of the Christians claim themselves to be “followers of Jesus” and “admirers of Jesus,” but most of them “do not affirm that they are committed to following seriously either his example or his teachings.”⁵² Yoder argues that the authentic followers of Jesus are those “who in fact are outvoted minority almost everywhere.” They “can and should address to the wider society, including the state, and to the persons exercising power within it, the invitation, as good news, to participate, in their own best interest, in the cosmic meaning of the sovereignty of their risen Lord.”⁵³ Yoder describes his stance as “radically catholic” rather than “sectarian.” Thus, the overarching theme of the essays in *For the Nations* is as follows:

Each of the following essays argues, though each in a somewhat different key, that the very shape of the people of God in the world is a public witness, or is “good news,” for the world, rather than first of all rejection or withdrawal. Where the attitude to the world needs to be rejection or retreat, that is determined contextually, because of the world’s recalcitrant response to that initial noncoercive, yea vulnerable affirmation. I call these essays “evangelical” in the root sense of the term, having to do with being bearers of good news for the world.⁵⁴

According to Yoder, his understanding of Jesus’ followers is by no means sectarian as claimed by mainstream Protestantism. He emphasises the impact on society by public witness made by Christians and argues that withdrawal is not the initial choice of Christians unless they are totally rejected by society in a particular context.⁵⁵

The Vocation of Diaspora (*Galut*)

Yoder’s introduction to the concept of “the vocation of *galut*” (Diaspora) in Chapter Three, “See How They Go with Their Face to the Sun,” is one of his most significant assertions in *For the Nations*. Actually, he adds legitimate evidence to the argument that the “sectarian” position on social and political ethics is a more ecumenical and a more catholic way to be Christian than that of mainline churches. He argues that the Diaspora is the “normal Jewish existence” in the Old Testament and

⁵² Yoder, “Introduction,” chap. in *For the Nations*, 4 and footnote 11.

⁵³ Ibid., 4-5.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 6.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

the Davidic dynasty is the antithesis,⁵⁶ which is obviously derived from his argument in "Exodus and Exile." Based on the text of Jeremiah 29:7, Yoder reveals that the "real mission of the scattered Jews" is to settle into Babylon, an alien culture, and to make homes for themselves (that is, let their children marry, purchase land, eat local products, and build houses); moreover, they are also asked to seek the peace of the city to which they have been sent.⁵⁷ Yoder maintains that the Jeremianic model "prefigured the Christian attitude to the Gentile world."⁵⁸ He argues that Babylon became the cultural centre of world Jewry from the age of Jeremiah until the Middle Ages. In other words, Babylonian Jewry is more significant than the Palestinian Jewry. Yoder plainly points out that the "Palestinocentric reading" of the Jewish story "is a mistake."⁵⁹ Michael Cartwright comments on the importance of the vocation of Diaspora:

Yoder contends that it is the Babylonian experience of captivity that has proved to be constitutive and in many respects generative for Jewish identity. Jewish people were scattered for mission in the sense in which seeds are broadcast 'to bloom where they were sown'.⁶⁰

Craig Carter expresses a similar observation:

In the exile, Jeremiah called the people to a new way of witnessing to monotheism, one that did not involve a nation-state, a monarchy, or the institution of war. The center of gravity shifted from the land to the Diaspora, from the monarchy to the synagogue and the rabbinate, and from war to pacifism. Even in the time of Jesus, Palestine was

⁵⁶ John Howard Yoder, "See How They Go with Their Face to the Sun," chap. in *For the Nations: Essays Public and Evangelical* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1997), 55-60.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 65. In fact, Yoder's interpretation is held up by Walter Brueggemann's view of the message of Jeremiah:

"Then comes a stunning and remarkable turn in the letter (Jer. 29:7). This additional imperative reflects the Babylonian propensity of the Jeremiah tradition. It also reflects political realism, urging the exiles to accommodate their imperial overlord. "The city where I have sent you" is Babylon. Jews in exile are to work for the well-being (*shalom*) of the empire and its capital city. The well-being (*shalom*) of Judah is dependent upon and derivative from that of Babylon. This positive attention toward Babylon is very different from the deep resentment toward the imperial masters generally and Babylon particularly as expressed elsewhere (in the Jeremiah tradition, see chs. 50-51, and also Isa. 13-14, 47). Prophetic faith is powerfully realistic about the political situation of the Jews in exile. The Jews have no option to Babylon, which is God's chosen habitat for the exiles." (257)

"There is, however, more than realism in this assertion. The imperative bestows upon this vulnerable, small community a large missional responsibility. In this way, the community is invited into the larger public process of the empire. Such a horizon prevents the exilic community from withdrawing into its own safe, sectarian existence, and gives it work to do and responsibility for the larger community." (257-58) See Walter Brueggemann, *A Commentary on Jeremiah: Exile and Homecoming* (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 1998), 257-58.

⁵⁸ Yoder, "See How They Go with Their Face to the Sun," 66-70.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁶⁰ Michael G. Cartwright and Peter Ochs, "Editors' Introduction," 22.

not the undisputed center of world Judaism.⁶¹

Yoder uses the Jeremianic model as a vivid metaphor to depict the social roles and responsibilities of the “sectarian” (the church) in society. Nevertheless, Yoder applauds the Jews as they not only kept “their subculture alive,” but also “in fact contributed mightily to making the Gentile world viable.” Through their witness in contributing to secular well-being, the Jeremianic Jews may have paved the way for the local people to accept Yahweh.⁶² Essentially, Yoder employs several biblical texts to narrate the historical development of Diaspora. The hermeneutical trajectory is composed of four sets of texts, including the call of Abraham in Genesis 12 to the prophecy of Jeremiah 29 in the Old Testament, and the vision of reconciled humanity of Ephesians 2-3 and the Apostle John’s vision in Revelation 5, 7, and 22 in the New Testament.⁶³

Gospel Order as Paradigm

There is always such a concern expressed by Christians: “How can the church communicate in the world?” Yoder, not finding this a problem, offers a solution in a series of his writing within two decades in response to the issue. In Chapter Two, “The Paradigmatic Public Role of God’s People,” in *For the Nations*, Yoder presents his idea of “gospel order as paradigm”⁶⁴ after a lengthy discourse on Karl Barth’s thesis of “The Order of the Community.” Although Yoder does not explicitly state the connection, his concept of the church’s public nature in his ecclesiology is strikingly similar to

⁶¹ Carter, *The Politics of the Cross*, 152.

⁶² Yoder, “See How They Go with Their Face to the Sun,” 76-77. Nevertheless, the exilic Jews’ desire or effort to share the message of God does not approach the zeal exhibited by the early church as they followed Christ’s Great Commandment (Mt.28: 18-20). While the Jeremianic model may be used as a suitable paradigm for the social role of the “sectarian” church, this model seems to fall short as model for the personal evangelism of the faith community defined by the contemporary evangelists. A possible weakness of the model is the incompatibility of the Jeremianic exiled Jews with the early Christian church, which developed a strong outreach mentality.

⁶³ Michael G. Cartwright and Peter Ochs, “Editors’ Introduction,” 22.

⁶⁴ It is the same theme previously presented in “Sacrament as Social Ethic,” *Theology Today* 48 (April 1991): 33-44, collected in *The Royal Priesthood*, 360-73, and *Body Politics* (1992), which is “in a fuller and more popular form.” (Yoder, *For the Nations*, 29, footnote 27) Michael Cartwright points out that the first published articulation of the essay, “Sacrament as Social Ethic,” made by Yoder in the “Stone Lectures” delivered at Princeton Theological Seminary in February 1980. It might be considered as Yoder’s fullest counter-example to H. Richard Niebuhr’s typology of “Christ and Culture” by offering “an analysis of the practices of the apostolic community or church that serves the purpose of validating his more general claim that the Christian community is ‘a sociological entity in its own right.’” See “Editor’s note” in John Howard Yoder, “Sacrament as Social Process: Christ the Transformer of Culture,” in Michael G. Cartwright, ed., *The Royal Priesthood: Essays Ecclesiological and Ecumenical*, foreword by Richard J. Mouw (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania and Waterloo, Ontario: Herald Press, 1998), 359.

Barth's, and seems to be the foundation of his argument of "gospel order as paradigm."⁶⁵

Yoder directs readers' attention to Karl Barth's title thesis for section 4, "The Order of the Community":

True Church law is exemplary law/[order]...it is a pattern for the formation and administration of human law generally, and therefore of the law of other political, economic, cultural and other human societies.⁶⁶

Yoder explains that the calling of the people of God is no different from the calling of all humanity. The difference between the human community as a whole and the faith community in particular "is a matter of awareness or knowledge or commitment or celebration, but not of ultimate destiny." Thus, what Christians "are called to is no different from what all humanity is called to." The statement of "Jesus Christ is Lord" is not about our inner piety or our intellect or ideas but about the cosmos. Although the rest of the world "does not yet see or know or acknowledge" its ultimate destiny, this is not a reason for Christians "to posit or to broker some wider or thinner vision" in order to make the world's divine destination more acceptable or more accessible. In other words, Christians should not dilute or filter or translate its witness; contrarily, the faith community should "purify and clarify and exemplify" its witness so that the public community "can perceive it to be good news without having to learn a foreign language." If the faith community restricts itself to the self-entertaining of believers, it would flatly contradict its confession of its Lord.⁶⁷

By the same token, Yoder also employs Barth's discourse on "church order is liturgical" as evidence. Since Christian worship is to celebrate and remember the particular history of Jesus Christ, there is no need to translate or dilute the order out of

⁶⁵ Carter also observes the similarities between Yoder's methodology and Barth's approach to ethics in *Church Dogmatics* IV/4. See Carter, *The Politics of the Cross*, 194, footnote 51. However, Stanley Hauerwas says that Yoder could have learned this from Barth, but he suspects that "Barth only confirmed what Yoder had already come to think as he thought through the practices that made his Anabaptist forebears so unusual." See "Foreword to English Edition" in John Howard Yoder, *Discipleship as Political Responsibility*, trans. Timothy J. Gedder, foreword by Stanley Hauerwas (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania and Waterloo, Ontario: Herald Press, 2003), 8.

⁶⁶ Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, Vol. IV/2: *The Doctrine of Reconciliation*, trans. G. W. Bromiley (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1958), 719. Yoder points out that the "word 'law' for *Recht* in the translation by G. Bromiley is very misleading; 'order' is usually better." Therefore, he uses "exemplary order" in the quotation for clarification. See John Howard Yoder, "Firstfruits: The Paradigmatic Public Role of God's People," chap. in *For the Nations: Essays Public and Evangelical* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1997), 24 and footnote 20.

⁶⁷ Yoder, "Firstfruits: The Paradigmatic Public Role of God's People," 24-25.

the fear that the neighbours or unbelievers might not understand. Thus, the gist is not “whether the message is for all humankind is the question, but what the message is.”⁶⁸ Hence, Yoder argues that the confession of Jesus is Lord is the core essence of the faith community “against apologetic inverse solipsism” posited by Barth:

To confess that Jesus Christ is Lord makes it inconceivable that there should be any realm where his writ would not run. That authority, however, is not coercive but non-violent; it cannot be imposed, only offered. It cannot be excluded by being declared to be alien, or “private” or “personal” or “sectarian,” but only by not (i.e., not yet) being heard.⁶⁹

Yoder further elucidates the importance of Barth’s argument:

The faith community and the human community are connatural; each is human, historical social. No deductive derivation of concrete specifications from general theories or metaphors is needed. If and when and to the extent to which women and men order their common life in the light of Christ’s lordship, they are already actualizing in, with, and under ordinary human forms the sanctification of creaturely life. That action is public by nature, with no need for it to be translated or buffered or diluted. The *reason* for that action may not be transparent to those uninformed or misinformed about the witness of resurrection, ascension, and Pentecost, but that does not diminish its public accessibility or pertinence.⁷⁰

All in all, Yoder concludes that Barth’s argument suffices “to state the confessional and Christological logic of the claim that *the order of the faith community constitutes a public offer to the entire society.*”⁷¹

Based upon Barth’s theological foundation, Yoder attempts to construct an alternative of Christian social ethics, which is expected to bridge the gap between “church” and “politics” or between “worship” and “ordinary life.”⁷² Yoder calls the church as “body politics” which sets forth the political meaning of the body of Christ.⁷³ The church is a new society⁷⁴ which is “not only the way in which members of the body relate to each other but also the basis for the church’s role as an exemplary society, that

⁶⁸ Ibid., 28-29.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 25.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 27.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² John Howard Yoder, *Body Politics: Five Practices of the Christian Community before the Watching World* (Nashville, Tennessee: Discipleship Resources, 1992), vii.

⁷³ Carter confirms Yoder’s idea in *Body Politics* is an expansion and elaboration of Barth’s “true church law is exemplary law.” See Carter, *The Politics of the Cross*, 214.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 191-205. Carter names Yoder’s ecclesiology as “the believers’ church as a new society”, as Yoder says: “The church herself is a society” in *The Christian Witness to the State* (17).

is, as the presence of the coming kingdom.”⁷⁵ Yoder formally states his thesis as “the pattern we shall discover is that the will of God for human socialness as a whole is prefigured by the shape to which the body of Christ is called.”⁷⁶ This thesis is derived “straightforwardly, inductively,” from the experience or practices of the early church as reflected in the New Testament.⁷⁷

Unlike most Protestants, Yoder does not limit the number of sacraments (some denominations such as Baptists call them ordinances) to two, the Lord’s Supper and baptism. He believes that a sacrament takes place when human and divine activities coincide,⁷⁸ that is, in one action is both a sacrament and a political practice, both a human and a divine act.⁷⁹ Carter rightly interprets that it is “not only the way in which members of the body relate to each other but also the basis for the church’s role as an exemplary society, that is, as the presence of the coming kingdom.”⁸⁰ Accordingly, Carter interprets Yoder’s discourse of sacraments that “every meal in a Jewish household is an act of worship, and the word *Eucharist* identifies the meal with its prayer.”⁸¹ He maintains that Yoder rejects the dichotomy between religious reality and the everyday world on the notion of sacraments.⁸²

The five sample practices surveyed by Yoder are: egalitarianism as implied by baptism into one body, forgiveness, socialism as implied in the Eucharist, the open meeting, and the universality of giftedness.⁸³ Yoder believes that these five practices are sample cases which should suffice to make the pattern clear though there could be more than five such practices.⁸⁴ Moreover, each of the topics displays its “social practice lived out by the early Christians, under divine mandate which at the same time offers a paradigm for the life of the larger society.”⁸⁵ In other words, each of the

⁷⁵ Ibid., 194-95.

⁷⁶ Yoder, *Body Politics*, ix.

⁷⁷ Yoder, “Firstfruits: The Paradigmatic Public Role of God’s People,” 29; Yoder, *Body Politics*, ix.

⁷⁸ Yoder, *Body Politics*, 1.

⁷⁹ Carter, *The Politics of the Cross*, 195.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 195.

⁸¹ Ibid., 198.

⁸² Ibid., 197.

⁸³ Yoder, “Firstfruits: The Paradigmatic Public Role of God’s People,” 33. Yoder uses different headings for the practices in other two writings. In *Body Politics* are baptism and the new humanity, binding and loosing, disciples break bread together, the rule of Paul, and the fullness of Christ, respectively; and in “Sacrament as Social Process,” are induction into the new humanity, fraternal admonition, breaking bread, the spirit’s freedom in the meeting, and the universality of charisma, respectively.

⁸⁴ Yoder, *Body Politics*, ix.

⁸⁵ Ibid., x.

practices “concerns *both* the internal activities of the gathered Christian congregation *and* the ways the church interfaces with the world.”⁸⁶

In addition, Yoder proposes a “schematic summary of the marks of the church,” which are eight practices or functions of the church in “Christian Discipline.” This appeared in *The Gospel Herald* as early as 1964. They can be considered as “the communal character of church’s life and functions.”⁸⁷ Yoder discusses those eight specific functions in terms of their subjective meaning, the sacramental form, the process and the underlying anthropology. The functions are as follows: to bind and loose, love the brethren, teach, follow Christ, serve, praise God, make disciples, and greet the brethren.⁸⁸ Yoder also discusses another four practices as proposed by Menno Simons in the sixteenth century: holy living, brotherly love, unreserved testimony, and suffering.⁸⁹ Yoder is convinced that these above mentioned functions can add dimensions in “a normative description of the church.”⁹⁰ The strength of the practices is that they are drawn primarily from Jesus’ injunctions rather than from an analysis of the congregations of the New Testament church. Moreover, they are the expressions of a coherent social vision for Jesus’ disciples, which were to become the pattern of life of the churches in the first century after Pentecost. The presence of the Holy Spirit is the effective guarantee for those functions to be practised both in the original community and in the modern community of faith.⁹¹

A brief overview of the five sample practices and their social implications is as follows: Firstly, egalitarianism as implied by baptism into one body (baptism and the new humanity/induction into the new humanity) is a practice grounded in a Gospel truth that “baptism proclaims an order in which Jew and Gentile, male and female, slave and freer have been reconciled not by being homogenized but by accepting one another.” Yoder speaks of this as “the early Christian root of egalitarianism.” The

⁸⁶ Yoder, “Sacrament as Social Process,” 361.

⁸⁷ Michael G. Cartwright, “Radical Reform, Radical Catholicity: John Howard Yoder’s Vision of the Faithful Church,” in Michael G. Cartwright, ed., *The Royal Priesthood: Essays Ecclesiological and Ecumenical*, foreword by Richard J. Mouw (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania and Waterloo, Ontario: Herald Press, 1998), 12-13 and footnote 21.

⁸⁸ Ross Thomas Bender, *The People of God: A Mennonite Interpretation of the Free Church Tradition* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1971), 142-45. A chart with eight definitional functions is reproduced on p.143; also reproduced in Cartwright, “Radical Reform, Radical Catholicity,” 13.

⁸⁹ For details, see John Howard Yoder, “A People in the World,” in *The Royal Priesthood: Essays Ecclesiological and Ecumenical*, ed. Michael G. Cartwright, foreword by Richard J. Mouw (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania and Waterloo, Ontario: Herald Press, 1998), 77-89.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 77-78.

⁹¹ Bender, *The People of God*, 144.

cross of Jesus Christ breaks down “the real wall between communities and cultures” and achieves “trans-ethnic inclusivism.” The equal dignity of the people in the community was affirmed on the basis of the cross.⁹² In other words, there is “status equality, acted out by baptism, defined as relativizing (not denying) social differences, rejecting their discriminatory impact.”⁹³

Secondly, forgiveness (fraternal admonition/binding and loosing) is a practice grounded in Jesus’ instructions to his followers “to forgive one another as God had forgiven them,” which is “a person-to-person process, not a priestly prerogative.” Such practice is authorised by “the Spirit of Christ” in the gospel; whom the community forgives, God has forgiven.⁹⁴ In other words, there is “the interweaving of forgiveness and moral discernment, operative at the point of offense, driven by the intent to forgive, reflecting and also conditioning the reality of divine forgiveness.”⁹⁵

Thirdly, socialism as implied in the Eucharist (breaking bread/disciples break bread together) is a practice in which the early Christians prayerfully ate together. This eucharistic meal evolved into something less like a meal over time, which fulfils YHWH’s vision for the Hebrews that “there should be no poor among them.” The Eucharist, thus, becomes the paradigm of inviting the outsider and the “underdog” to the table.⁹⁶ In other words, there is “the sharing of the simple wherewithal of human life”⁹⁷ which is regarded as “an action of economic ethics.”⁹⁸

Fourthly, the open meeting (the spirit’s freedom in the meeting/the rule of Paul) is a practice in which all early Christians were free to take the floor and express their beliefs when they met for worship and the only mandatory guidelines were procedural. This is the foundation of “democracy,” which does not say the people or a majority is always right, but only decisions will be better if all are allowed to speak.⁹⁹ In other words, there is “decision making by open dialogue and consensus; everyone can have

⁹² Yoder, “Firstfruits: The Paradigmatic Public Role of God’s People,” 29-30; for details, also see Yoder, *Body Politics*, 28-46 and Yoder, “Sacrament as Social Process,” 367.

⁹³ Yoder, “Sacrament as Social Process,” 369.

⁹⁴ Yoder, “Firstfruits: The Paradigmatic Public Role of God’s People,” 30; for details, also see Yoder, *Body Politics*, 1-13 and Yoder, “Sacrament as Social Process,” 361-62.

⁹⁵ Yoder, “Sacrament as Social Process,” 368.

⁹⁶ Yoder, “Firstfruits: The Paradigmatic Public Role of God’s People,” 31-32; for details, also see Yoder, *Body Politics*, 14-27 and Yoder, “Sacrament as Social Process,” 364-66.

⁹⁷ Yoder, “Sacrament as Social Process,” 369.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 364.

⁹⁹ Yoder, “Firstfruits: The Paradigmatic Public Role of God’s People,” 32; for details, also see Yoder, *Body Politics*, 61-70 and Yoder, “Sacrament as Social Process,” 363-64.

the floor.”¹⁰⁰

Fifthly, the universality of giftedness (the universality of charisma/the fullness of Christ) is a practice grounded in the fact that “the same Spirit which gives every individual the right to the floor also qualifies every individual for his or her own role or service in the body.” As mentioned in Paul’s analogy of human body, “no individual’s role is replaceable” and “none is in its own place less worthy than the next.” The practice not only undercuts hierarchy, but also “calls for compensatory measure to give more honor to the less esteemed members.”¹⁰¹ In other words, there is “the universalization of giftedness, with every member having his or her charismatic role.” Furthermore, it “destroys patriarchalism but not in the interest of anarchy or some other ‘-archalism’” and “equalizes, but it is the opposite of leveling.”¹⁰²

Finally, all of the five practices are called “good news” which is “the original meaning of the noun *gospel* and of the adjective *evangelical*.”¹⁰³ Three criteria are employed as qualifiers of “evangelical” in the functional sense. Firstly, a practice “communicates *news*” which “says something particular that would not be known and could not be believed were it not said.” Secondly, this “news” is “attested as good; it comes across to those whom it addresses as helping, as saving, and as *shalom*.” Thirdly, a practice “must be public, not esoteric, but the way for it to be public is not an a priori logical move that subtracts the particular. It is an a posteriori political practice that tells the world something it did not know and could not believe before.”¹⁰⁴

Moreover, a practice tells the world what its own calling and destiny are “by pioneering a paradigmatic demonstration of both the power and the practices that define the shape of restored humanity.” In other words, a practice is able to give birth to a renewed people with the faith of Christ, that is, the confessing people of God signify “the new world on its way.”¹⁰⁵ It is because the church is the instrument of the renewal of the world if the message of the church is faithfully preached.¹⁰⁶ As “vulnerability” and “refusability” are weakness of practices, the five practices are not

¹⁰⁰ Yoder, “Sacrament as Social Process,” 368.

¹⁰¹ Yoder, “Firstfruits: The Paradigmatic Public Role of God’s People,” 33; for details, also see Yoder, *Body Politics*, 47-60 and Yoder, “Sacrament as Social Process,” 362-63.

¹⁰² Yoder, “Sacrament as Social Process,” 368.

¹⁰³ Yoder, *Body Politics*, 75.

¹⁰⁴ Yoder, “Sacrament as Social Process,” 373.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Yoder, *Body Politics*, 78.

the ways to administer the world, but they can be provocatively and creatively present in the world.¹⁰⁷ Due to the “evangelical” essence of church, a paradoxical relationship between the church and the world is observed. The church is not “against the world” though it has nothing worth saying to and for the world, but it is present relevantly and redemptively in the midst of things. Thus, the proper attitude of the church toward the world is to love the world, but to refuse conformity to the world.¹⁰⁸

As Christians are called to serve the world, but not to rule it, they have to look for another kind of “political” guidance, other than the gospel, with which to rule the world. Therefore, the social implication of the five practices is that they serve as a kind of mediation, a “bridging-over” from the faith community to other social structures. Thus, these practices are the “mediation,” which “is not a mental or verbal operation of translation or conceptual bridging, but rather the concrete historical presence, among their neighbors, of believers who for Jesus’ sake to do ordinary social things differently.” The characteristics of these activities are visible, but not opaque rituals, so that the world can observe, imitate, and extrapolate.¹⁰⁹ As the practices are not ritual or religious in any otherworldly sense, they “can be spoken of in social process terms, which can easily be transposed into non-religious equivalents that a sociologist could watch.” The social significance of the practices is that people “who do not share the faith or join the community can learn from them.”¹¹⁰

The quintessence of these five practices can be recapitulated as follows: Theologically, they are human actions in which God is active; namely, human-divine actions, that is, actions of God embodied in Christians’ deeds. Ecclesiologically, they are activities of worship, of ministry, of doxology, of celebratory, of mandate. Socially, they are publicly accessible behaviours, not esoteric or difficult to understand, so that the public not only can observe, but can also share in, understand and imitate.¹¹¹ Yoder steadily maintains that the churches with those practices are the direct heirs of pre-Constantinian catholic Christianity.¹¹² Ross T. Bender rightly clarifies the human social nature of the believers’ church. It “does not deny the sociological necessity of

¹⁰⁷ Yoder, “Sacrament as Social Process,” 373.

¹⁰⁸ Yoder, *Body Politics*, 78-79.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 74-75.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 72-73.

¹¹² Freeman, McClendon, and Velloso da Silva, ed., *Baptist Roots*, 390.

creating institutions for the expression of its common life in the service of God nor (except for the Quakers) does it reject the celebration of baptism and the Lord's Supper." Nevertheless, it does "insist that its structures be kept subordinate to and instruments of the personal quality of its fellowship and that its cultic and ceremonial expressions be understood in relational rather than in impersonal, sacramental terms."¹¹³ More importantly, the normative description of the nature of the church reflects a distinctive style of life, and the individual finds his/her true personhood in the life of the total community:

He[*she*] finds his[*her*] personal meaning in the realization that he[*she*] is a member of a body (To be human is "to join a voluntary covenanting community," "to share 'food' with others," "to subject my freedom to my brother's need," "to keep widening the experience of brotherhood"). There may be occasions for heroic acts (forsaking... suffering) but even these find their true significance in terms of the larger group which encourages, commissions, and suffers with the individual. Brotherly address, testing, discerning, celebration, baptism, and the Supper are all communal activities and have no meaning apart from the community of faith.¹¹⁴

A number of questions are often raised: "How can the church communicate in the world?" or "Does the faith community have anything to say to the wider world?" or "Does the faith community have the right to speak to the world?" Yoder responds by insisting that they are wrongly posed questions, based upon the vocation of Diaspora and the gospel order of paradigm:

When Jeremiah told the exiles in Babylonia to "seek the shalom of that city where I have sent you," there was never reason for debate about whether that shalom was knowable to the Babylonians, or about whether it was relevant. The need was for the Jewish exiles themselves to believe that that was their mission.¹¹⁵

In other words, what Christians have to do is to deliver God's messages. The question whether the members in a society understand it or not is not their concern. It is a matter of faithfulness.

Core Essences of Christian Social Ethics

Concerning the theological stance of social action of God's people, Yoder in *For the Nations* provides a concise summary of the core concepts of social ethics, which

¹¹³ Bender, *The People of God*, 142.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹¹⁵ Yoder, "Firstfruits: The Paradigmatic Public Role of God's People," 33-34.

can be regarded as criteria and guidelines. All of his concepts developed from his well-known ideas for practising Christian social ethics. Thus, these arguments testify to Yoder's assertion that the book does not represent a change of conviction on his part.¹¹⁶

Firstly, "the criterion of Christian ethics is not effectiveness but incarnation." Owing to the confession of Jesus Christ as Lord, derived from the strong faith of peace with eschatology and co-existence of two aeons, and Jesus Christ's lordship over both the church and the world, Christian loyalty to Jesus Christ is "ultimately effective." The standard by which Christians measure their obedience is Jesus Christ himself. Simply speaking, learning His brokenness, not success, is "the normal path of faithfulness to the servanthood of God." The quintessence of this claim is that "true 'success' in Christian obedience is not to be measured by changing the world in a given direction within a given length of time, but by the congruence between our path and the triumph of Christ."¹¹⁷ However, pragmatism, as Yoder clearly spells out, is a detrimental challenge to Christian faithfulness as it has justified itself by good results. It presents "idealistic glorification" to "whatever anyone is currently doing to save the world."¹¹⁸ Yoder admonishes Christians to avoid giving credit to themselves for their accomplishment. They have to relearn the humility that acknowledges God's faithfulness to his word and to his Son as the cause of getting something done.¹¹⁹

Yoder clarifies a dichotomy of a rhetorical contrast between pragmatism and idealism. The former "assumes that we have a standard of what it means for something to 'work,' which is itself not subject to moral evaluation." The latter is "the 'higher' standards being held forth by the 'idealist'" that cannot be fully related to real experience. Yoder asserts that this dichotomy has been disproved by Jesus' ministry and incarnation. Hence, it is a choice between "effective as we now figure it out for ourselves" and "effective after the measure of revelation in Christ."¹²⁰ The integrity with which Christian ethics is concerned is the welfare of the neighbour. Identifying with the incarnation as the motivation and the power for Christian obedience means that Christians will identify themselves with the enemy when exercising a social critique. It has to be practised "*in the way of Christ*": Jesus' willingness to suffer at the hands of

¹¹⁶ Yoder, "Introduction," chap. in *For the Nations*, 6.

¹¹⁷ Yoder, "The Radical Revolution in Theological Perspective," 109.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 109.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 109-10.

the enemy is the embodiment of the most costly dimension of his love.

Thus, Yoder makes a distinctive and significant clarification of Christian social actions against social injustice: the identification of Christ with the poor is not merely “a call to upset society and make the poor rich and let the rich take their turn to suffer.” In other words, going in the way of Christ does not simply mean to overthrow the unjust ruling class and change the unjust social structures. In order to obtain a real and durable change, what Christians need to do is “the identification of God’s suffering servanthood,” that is, they have to be with people in their suffering. This “does not concentrate *first* upon an illusory vision of ending all suffering by a simple shift in the social order.”¹²¹ In short, Christians do not pursue the effectiveness of achieving the good results and attempting to save the world by their own efforts, since this is beyond their capability. It is an embodiment of Christian faithfulness.

Secondly, “Christian obedience is for a minority.” Yoder displays a short but stimulating definition of ethics: “For the very fundamental fact of social behavior...is that not everyone else will be doing the same thing. Ethics is then the study of how to behave when others don’t.” As it is a simple fact that most of the organs of society are not under the control of committed Christians, Christian ethics must be tailored to face a situation in which “society is in the control of men who have no intention of letting servanthood be the standard of their decisions.” Christians have to learn to reject “the idea that one must first obtain power and then use it for good.” Christian ethics, thus, is “precisely a way of behaving in a world where the good are weak...where the only power of gospel is the power of God.” However, the minority position of the church does not mean that Christians have nothing to say to the rest of society. There is no reason for Christians not to share their conviction with others, no matter whether they are considered as a ‘good’ or ‘bad’ people. Furthermore, the standard of Christian obedience should not be trimmed down to a certain level that fits everyone.¹²²

Thirdly, “the church is a visible group of people relating to one another in the name of Jesus Christ.” In order to overcome the lethal consequences of Constantinianism, such as the church being an aggregation and not a fellowship and as an administrative structure and not a congregation, the church has to be a new kind

¹²¹ Ibid., 110-11.

¹²² Ibid., 111-13.

of social structure and human community. Compared with other social groupings, the church is “the one society” in which members are less concentrated on selfish interests and self-seeking, due to their confession of faith and their cross-bearing obedience to Jesus Christ. Moreover, the church as a fellowship of people with varying gifts and responsibilities provides mutual acceptance, support and criticism, making each individual a more complete person and part of the body of Christ. That body would be more effective than the total sum of its parts. However, the church is “not *primarily* an instrument to speak to or for the masses” regarding the transformation of social and political structure of the society; namely, the pulpit “is no podium” and the preacher “should be no demagogue.”¹²³

Fourthly, “the church accepts living under an unjust social order.” The readiness to suffer under unjust rulers has been part of the way of the cross and the most distinguished social trait of the church for the past millennia. According to the New Testament, the church accepts living under an unjust social order and expects the total transformation of human relationships through the hidden lordship of Christ to be the ultimate hope for Christians. However, this is unacceptable to some Christians as “it seems to be costly, or to be ineffective.” The church should not cease to be concerned for the relative improvement of the society, but it must not give people unrealistic hope that somehow justice will come very soon.¹²⁴

Fifthly, “the church should be not a chaplain but a conscience to society.” The function of a chaplain in any institution is to deal with the “religious” needs of his/her parish. By definition, his/her attitude has to be “positive” toward the rulers of the particular unit of society which he/she is serving. Although the message of the Christian gospel is a promise of salvation, which is also deeply “positive,” it needs to be a conscience criticising people’s self-centeredness, self-satisfaction, and self-confidence. Thus, the church is critical by nature.¹²⁵

Finally, “Jesus Christ is the hope of the world.” In the secular world, there are many worldly hopes, such as the mythology of democracy and freedom and the Marxist hope. However, the ultimate hope of all people is God’s intervention so that the structures of human relationships can be changed, according to the message of the Old and New Testaments. Christians should be freed from the assumption that the

¹²³ Ibid., 114-15.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 116-18.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 119-20.

relevance of the Christian hope “is primarily that it commands and enables us to sit down and calculate the safe and sure tactics which will enable us to reach it.” Yoder argues that, ironically, the relevance of Christian hope “is more profound and *more effective* when it bypasses this process of pragmatic calculation in favour of other modes of relevance.”¹²⁶

Yoder names three types of the relevance of the Christian hope: the absolute, the signs, and the wonder.

Firstly, Christians’ refusal to accept substitutes, to compromise, and to be satisfied with any of the apparently available alternatives is “the most true and faithful and ultimately effective thing” they can do. It is not a naive confidence but a “commitment to one thing most surely believed incarnates the only true liberation from the absolutism of our day-to-day routine slaveries and from the pride of the Constantinian assumption that it is our business to make history come out right.”

Secondly, there are actions whose meaning is not “instrumental” but “significant.” Our actions or deeds do not necessarily bring about the immediate effect in changing social orders, but they do signify the lordship of Christ. The rationale behind the deed is our confession of Jesus Christ as the Lord of history and our confidence in the Holy Spirit who will make of our sign a message. This is not due to our eloquence. Thus, “there will be times when the only thing to say is a word to which no one seems ready to listen and which will coerce no one; yet it needs to be said nonetheless.”

Demonstrations of social protest, for example, are a needed voice. But they are “something rather than being tools of social coercion and as pressures to force men against their will to bargain.”

Thirdly, the relevance of a transcendent hope is a “dimension of the unexpected” or “the providential.” When the outcome of the struggle was not the one predicted by the so-called most careful planners “but a surprise, a revelation, ‘a wonder in our eyes,’” it is always “with the lordship of the crucified one.” Yoder argues that the power of Jesus Christ “is not the divine rubber stamp with which he is obliged to seal our best efforts but rather a treasure in earthen vessels, a strength that is made perfect in weakness.” Hence, “the last and deepest reason” for considering Jesus Christ as the hope of the world is an awareness of the “ultimate inadequacy” of the secular hopes, such as democracy or justice or equality or freedom. Their common problem is that

¹²⁶ Ibid., 120-22.

they are not truly strong in their search to be strong; and they “locate our worst need in the wrong place, namely, outside ourselves.”¹²⁷ In consonance with Paul’s teaching, “the weapons of our warfare not fleshly, but mighty,” (II Corinthians 10:4), Yoder gives a concluding remark:

Those for whom Jesus Christ is the hope of the world will not measure their contemporary social involvement by its promise of effectiveness tomorrow, not by whether it will succeed in providing jobs and freedom, but only by the identity of the Lord in whom they have placed their hope, and *this is* why they are sure to succeed.¹²⁸

Applicability of the Model in the Context of Hong Kong

Since every theology is written in its particular and unique context, every theology to a certain extent can be regarded as contextual theology. Yoder is an American theologian, who established his academic career in the post-World War II period in the twentieth century. As mentioned before, one of his research emphases is to challenge Western Christendom and American Protestantism of the past century. Thus, Yoder’s theological concepts surely must be seen in relationship to his specific context.

Firstly, Yoder’s concepts of minority, majority, the establishment, and the Constantinian church, are originated from the context of Western Christendom. His concept of the established church in the West is that of a cultural establishment which is the offspring of Christendom. As mentioned previously, Yoder explains that “establishment” does not mean majority; instead, it means “the minority who are in dominant social roles and claim the authority to speak for everyone.” Simply speaking, Christians in the West are numerically a minority in the population, but not a cultural minority in power. However, Christians in Hong Kong are not only numerically a minority in population, but more significantly, they are a cultural minority. The established church in Hong Kong is not a cultural establishment, as the culture in Hong Kong is Chinese – a combination of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism and not a Christendom culture.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Ibid., 122-23.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 123-24.

¹²⁹ In *Hong Kong Year Book 1997*, Hong Kong is described as a city “has a variety of ethnic and cultural groups with various religious beliefs. Buddhists co-exist with Taoists, Christians, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and Jews. Ancestor worship is widely practised in Hong Kong owing to the strong influence of Confucianism, which is not a religion but teaches a moral code based on human relations.

Secondly, the Jeremianic model has its unique quality, based on the narrative of the scattering of the Jews in the Old Testament, which is reckoned as a prefiguration of the Christian attitude to the gentile world. Yoder considers the Jewish exilic experience to be the prime theme in the Old Testament, signifying the minority nature as the norm of God's chosen people. He uses the Jeremianic model to show how American Christians are a minority presence within the American context. Baptists and other Free Church groups have felt themselves to be a minority in population and cultural influence in some places dominated by a different Christian group. Hong Kong Baptists could make even better claim for the Jeremianic model of being a minority people, since Hong Kong is dominated by cultural powers other than Christian ones. Furthermore, the non-Western context of Chinese Christians in Hong Kong has a richer claim to Yoder's model than the Western context.

Thirdly, the political-ecclesiological context of Hong Kong after the handover of 1997 seems to be identical to the backdrop of the Jewish community during the Babylonian exile. The Jews were also a numerical and cultural minority in Babylon, then the strongest empire in the region. Hong Kong, a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the PRC, is under the atheistic sovereignty of China, the largest Communist nation in the world and the most influential power in the East politically, economically, and militarily. Christians are a minority both numerically and culturally in Hong Kong. Therefore, Yoder's Jeremianic model seems to be an appropriate basis for examining the political-ecclesiological context of the church of Hong Kong and for constructing a contextual social ethics for Christians in Hong Kong.

Apart from offering religious instruction, many major religious bodies have established schools and health and welfare facilities." See "Chapter 21 – Religion and Custom: Introduction," *Hong Kong Year Book 1997: Hong Kong – A New Era*; English; available from <http://www.info.gov.hk/yearbook/1997/eindex.htm?yearbook/1997/econtent.htm>; Internet; accessed 21 September 2004.

Strictly speaking, the culture in Hong Kong is not a typical Chinese traditional culture due to its peculiar colonial history. Carl Smith points out, from an ecclesiastical perspective, that Hong Kong's culture in the early colonial stage was peripheral by nature, not entirely influenced by the mainstream Confucianism, that made the gospel being more acceptable by the local Chinese who were regarded as the lowest class in Chinese society. For details, see Carl T. Smith, *A Sense of History: Studies in Social and Urban History of Hong Kong*, 261-308. Zheng Deliang depicts three characteristics of Hong Kong's culture: an immigrant culture, a rootless culture, and a branch of the Dragon's (Chinese) culture. (45) For details, see Deliang Zheng, *Xianggang Qiji: Jingji Chengjiu De Wenhua Dongli* [Hong Kong's Miracle: The Cultural Thrust of the Economic Achievement] (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1992), 25-49. Ambrose Y. C. King offers similar viewpoints in an indepth dialogue on Hong Kong's culture from a sociological perspective, see Ambrose Y. C. King, "Shiji Huimou: Cong Xianggang Wenhua Kan Zhongxi Wen Hua Da Chongtu Yu Ronghe" ["A Retrospection of A Century: The East-West Cultural Conflict and Fusion from the Perspective of Hong Kong's Culture,"] chap. in *The Modern Turn of China* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2004), 229-71.

Effectiveness and Faithfulness – Criteria for Explicating Baptists' Practices

As mentioned before, two aspects of Yoder's social ethics stand out: firstly, Christian social ethics is defined as a study of Christian behaviour very likely not followed by most members in society; and secondly, Christian faithfulness means the rejection of effectiveness attained by human efforts. One of the assumptions of Yoder's reasoning appears to be that Christians are called to do something which does not make sense to most people.¹³⁰ Moreover, they are called to insist on doing so because "the real issue," as Yoder rightly points out, "is not whether Jesus can make sense in a world far from Galilee, but whether – when he meets us in our world, as he does in fact – we want to follow him."¹³¹ Thus, true followers of Jesus are those who commit themselves to faithfully following the examples and teachings of Jesus. However, they understand that the theology they are practising is not for everyone in the sense that they share a common viewpoint with everyone. Harry J. Heubner provides a discerning description that reveals an essential difference between Yoder's perception of Christian ethics and a more general ethic: "...Christian ethics is for Christians and 'not for everyone,' and the ethic that is 'for everyone' ...is not necessarily binding for faithful Christians."¹³² Thus, faithfulness and effectiveness are two core concepts in Yoder's Jeremianic model and Christian ethics. These may seem to be irreconcilable. The following discussion is an evaluation of these two core ideas which Yoder makes the criteria for explicating the practices of Baptists in Hong Kong.

¹³⁰ One of Yoder's criticisms of Reinhold Niebuhr's realism can serve as an annotation of his definition of Christian ethics. In *Christian Attitudes to War, Peace, and Revolution: A Companion to Bainton*, Yoder maintains that one of the problems of the American mainstream Protestant theology is the thought of common sense that is regarded as "the vanguard of the intellectual consensus of western modernity." (325) According to Yoder, common sense is a product of humanism that realizes that human's intelligence is able to discern good and bad. Although Niebuhr's theology is a reaction to the liberal Protestant pacifism, he is not immune to its influence. (326-27) Yoder criticises both liberal pacifism and realism pacifism are: firstly, truth is not from the Bible, but from all kinds of evidence which reinforce one another; secondly, reasoning; and thirdly, calculation of effectiveness. (343-52) Yoder argues one of the characteristics of Niebuhr's realism is that he "doesn't say it is right because it is in the Bible. He doesn't say it is right because the church fathers teach it. It is right because it makes sense." (348) Therefore, Niebuhr's theology can be described as a theology of 'common sense'. It seems to be a common syndrome that many Christians of the twentieth century are inescapably the inheritors of the Western mainstream theology: a mixture of the Western humanism, liberal Protestant theology, and realism theology. This syndrome may also be observed among Christians in Hong Kong. For details of Yoder's criticism, see John Howard Yoder, *Christian Attitudes to War, Peace, and Revolution: A Companion to Bainton*, 325-69.

¹³¹ John Howard Yoder, "'But We Do See Jesus': The Particularity of Incarnation and the Universality of Truth," chap. in *The Priestly Kingdom: Social Ethics as Gospel* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 62.

¹³² Harry J. Heubner, "Moral Agency as Embodiment: How the Church Acts," 192.

Effectiveness and Faithfulness

Reinhard L. Hütter's article, "The Church: Midwife of History or Witness of the Eschaton?" on the eschatologies of Rauschenbusch and Yoder offers an illuminating explication of the concepts of faithfulness and effectiveness.¹³³ Hütter argues that the eschatologies of Rauschenbusch and Yoder are two contrasting paradigms of ecclesiologically centred Christian social ethics. The former understands "history as universal eschatology" whereas the latter understands "eschatology as particular history." He explains that "[t]heir respective ecclesiologies reflect this basic divergence, and it shapes the unfolding of their ecclesial ethics."¹³⁴ Both paradigms display a "sect-type" ecclesiology but differ crucially on "how eschatology and history are understood in their relation to each other."

In other words, the core question is "whether a specific concept of history predetermines the eschatological outlook or whether the eschatological perspective determines the view of history." Rauschenbusch's account is an "aggressive sectarianism," aiming at "Christianizing the social order." It depends upon "the prior concept of history as universal process in which the eschaton acquires a utopian character." Yoder's account is a "witnessing sectarianism," showing the world that "it is the world and at the same time inviting it into the life of the church as the concrete prefiguration of God's Kingdom." It is "patterned by the particular history of Jesus of Nazareth and the community of the church in its prefiguring incorporation of the eschaton."¹³⁵

Hütter makes a lucid explanation concerning the fundamental differences between the concepts of Rauschenbusch and Yoder:

For Rauschenbusch the church is responsible for the course of history, since history itself has the potential of its own fulfilment and is in need of competent and motivated agents to press it in that very direction. The church has to take the crucial function of socio-political "midwife" helping to bring to birth that very "Kingdom of God" which "history" carries in its womb. The fulfilment of history lies in its intrinsic telos of a universal society of brotherhood and cooperative fellowship... In such a setting "effectiveness" has priority and might imply the use of violence for the sake of the goal to be reached...

¹³³ Reinhard Hütter, "The Church: Midwife of History or Witness of the Eschaton?" *Journal of Religious Ethics* 18 (spring, 1990), 27-54.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.

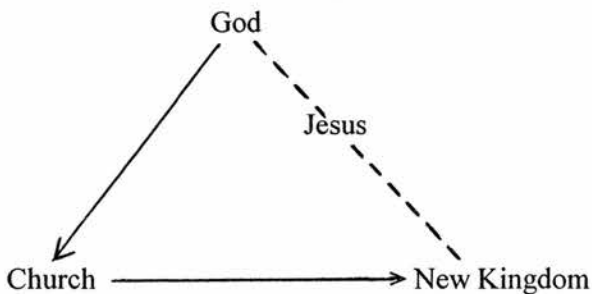
¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 27-28.

For Yoder it is exactly the opposite: *eschatology turns into history* in the form of the concrete and particular history of the visible “new order” of the church. For those who can say “*Vicit agnus noster, eum sequamur*” (1972:250), the eschaton became history. They are already empowered to lead the life of the eschaton in the particularity of a specific community; yet when the Kingdom of God comes in fullness, they will realize that they have been part of it all the time (cf. Yoder, 1971:159). Therefore not “effectiveness” but rather “obedient faithfulness” represents for Yoder the decisive criterion for the church’s activity.¹³⁶

In other words, Rauschenbusch’s ethical category of “effectiveness” of the church’s activities “depends exactly on his prior utopianism,” which is “in the form of the active reformation *of*” the social order. Yoder’s ethical category of “obedient faithfulness” corresponds “exactly to the witnessing character of the church’s ethical nature,” which is “in the form of the exemplary witness *to*” the social order.¹³⁷

Harry J. Huebner deconstructs Hütter’s paradigms and constructs the models for elucidating the differences between the paradigms by which four important elements, God, Jesus Christ, the church, and the kingdom of God, are identified. Huebner points out the basic agreement of Rauschenbusch and Yoder that “God wills the church to be the agential instrument in establishing the kingdom of God on earth.”

However, in Rauschenbusch view, “the social gospel mandates the church to ‘christianize the social order’ and in so doing it is to bring to birth the kingdom of God.” This is to say, Jesus did not himself bring the kingdom about. Hence, the relationship among the four elements would be: there are solid lines between God and church as well as between the church and the kingdom of God, and a dotted connection between God through Jesus to the kingdom of God. Huebner constructs a diagram for Rauschenbusch’s concept of history as universal eschatology:¹³⁸



¹³⁶ Ibid., 47.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 28.

¹³⁸ Huebner, “Moral Agency as Embodiment: How the Church Acts,” 198.

The point of disagreement between Yoder and Rauschenbusch is “over the way in which Jesus ‘brings about’ this kingdom and the implications this has for the church.” Yoder does not say Jesus brought about the kingdom by “christianizing the social order.” What he brought about was “by bearing witness to the truth of God’s grace and then allowing its power to blossom into a new reality in spite of the powers of evil which opposed it.” In fact, Yoder’s central paradigm for understanding “ecclesial moral agency is the cross/resurrection because it is the way God works and hence the way God’s action can be understood.” Thus, there is a solid line between God through Jesus to the kingdom of God, but a dotted line between the church and the kingdom of God.¹³⁹ Huebner’s interpretation is based on Yoder’s argument:

The key to the obedience of God’s people is not their effectiveness but their *patience*. The triumph of the right is assured not by the might that comes to the aid of the right, which is of course the justification of the use of violence and other kinds of power in every human conflict; the triumph of the right, although it is assured, is sure because of the power of the resurrection and not because of any calculation of causes and effects, nor because of the inherently greater strength of the good guys. The relationship between the obedience of God’s people and the triumph of God’s cause is not a relationship of cause and effect but one of cross and resurrection.¹⁴⁰ (emphasis mine)

Applying Yoder’s concept to the “church as body of Christ,” Huebner explains that the essence of faithfulness of the church as it follows the example of Jesus:

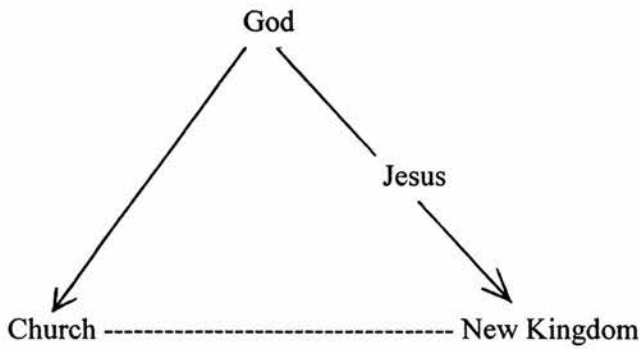
[It is] also not to make the world Christian but to concentrate on being the church on being witnesses to God’s truth. The church is to focus on giving power to that which was first given, namely, the way of God in Jesus Christ. But this does not suggest any lack of concern for the world... Biblical fidelity is not for the benefit of the community alone – although it is that – but for the world. The transforming power of God can, through God’s faithful, be an embodied sign of God’s redemption of the world.¹⁴¹

Yoder stresses the need of the church to be faithful when he says, “Let the church be the church.” Thus, Yoder’s perception of eschatology as particular history shows a different relationship among the elements:

¹³⁹ Ibid., 199.

¹⁴⁰ Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus*, 232.

¹⁴¹ Huebner, “Moral Agency as Embodiment: How the Church Acts,” 200.



Huebner concludes that Rauschenbusch and Yoder differ in the way they see “how the church re-narrates the story of Christ and how that re-narration functions in the shaping of Christian community and thereby the world.” To put it differently, the core question is “What was God doing in Jesus Christ and what is God doing through us?”¹⁴²

Therefore, we can see the most significant difference between the models of Rauschenbusch and Yoder is their understanding of the role of Jesus and the church, that is, the relationships between the church and the kingdom and between Jesus and the kingdom. For Rauschenbusch, the kingdom is to be brought about by the church, not by Jesus Christ, and the church’s task is to make a better world. On the other hand, for Yoder, the role of the church is to practise being the church, and the kingdom is to be brought about by Jesus Christ himself, not by the church. The church is the embodiment of Christ’s salvation which actively expresses “redemptive ways of healing relationships, of liberating people, of providing enough for physical well-being, of resolving conflict, of forgiving sinners, of assisting the dying, of welcoming new life, etc.”¹⁴³

In other words, the church’s mission is to be a sign of the kingdom, but the fulfilment of the kingdom is a gift or blessing from God.¹⁴⁴ Simply speaking, the emphasis of Rauschenbusch’s model is the effectiveness of the church, that is, how does the church bring about the kingdom and reform the world. Alternatively, the focus of Yoder’s model is the faithfulness of the church, that is, how does the church embody the salvation of Christ as a sign of the kingdom.

As Yoder claims, “patience” is the key to the obedience of God’s people,¹⁴⁵ not

¹⁴² Ibid., 201.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 200.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 199.

¹⁴⁵ John Howard Yoder, ““Patience” as Method in Moral Reasoning: Is an Ethic of Discipleship

their effectiveness; namely, Christian faithfulness means that the church has to practise patience, embodying the sign of the kingdom, although such a practice does not make sense to most people, since it seems to be ineffective in worldly terms and contradictory to worldly principles.

Analysis of the Mentality of Baptists on Educational Ministry

Encapsulating the development of Baptists in Hong Kong from 1949 to 1984, the following issues concerning the practices of social ministry are noteworthy: firstly, the interactions between Sir Alexander Grantham and Lam Chi-fung, representing the interactions between the colonial government and the Baptist community; and secondly, the laity- pastors controversy over the issue of accepting governmental subsidies to the Baptist educational institutions.

Judging from Yoder's notions of effectiveness and faithfulness, two main questions regarding the educational ministry of Baptists are put forward: Firstly, what kind of social practices did Baptists in Hong Kong carry out? More specifically, did the issues reflect the mentality of effectiveness or the quality of faithfulness of Baptists; namely, were the practices of Baptists considered as effectiveness-oriented or faithfulness-driven? Secondly, are the features of effectiveness and faithfulness inherently irreconcilable or incompatible?

First of all, what is the nature of the educational ministry of Baptists in the light of Yoder's practice of the church? In the post-World War II context, Hong Kong experienced a social crisis due to the influxes of refugees from the mainland after 1949. As the social welfare system in the colony was basically nonexistent then, housing, education, and medical services became the burning issues. Supported by the Western missionary societies, Baptists, as well as other Christian denominations, were given the opportunity to participate in the intensive relief works, namely social ministry.

"Absolute"?" in *The Wisdom of the Cross: Essays in Honor of John Howard Yoder*, eds. Stanley Hauerwas, Chris K. Heubner, Harry J. Heubner, and Mark Thiessen Nation (Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 1999), 24-42. Yoder discusses nineteen types of "patience" and considers all of them could "apply to any kind of decent person taking a position on the grounds of moral conviction on any important subject." In other words, the Catholic or Anglican or Method or Baptist or Jew or atheist could make all the same points. Thus, there is nothing "sectarian" about the considerations, but "radically ecumenical." Yoder summarises the considerations as the notions of discipleship in four aspects: one should "love one's enemy and not do violence..."; "membership in a believing community is voluntary"; "decision making in the church should be free from manipulation by the power of the civil order"; and "authority in the faith community is decentralized and consensual." (35)

Evidently, one of the primary motivations for Baptists to run schools and hospital was to respond to the social needs and to help the poor and needy. It apparently fits the essence of the practice of “breaking bread” which is by nature “the economic solidarity” or “economic sharing” which is an essential mark of a caring church. Additionally, the practice of “break bread” also can be classified as one of the practices (*nota*) mentioned in the “schematic summary of marks of the church.”

In the schematic summary, two practices perform certain functions of helping the poor and needy: “love the brothers and sisters” and “serve.” Hence, the subjective meaning of the former practice is “sharing,” its sacramental form is “the Supper,” its meaning in terms of process is “covenant and celebration”; and its underlying anthropological meaning is “to share ‘food’ with others’.” The subjective meaning of the latter practice is “servanthood”; its sacramental form is “the basin and the cross”; its meaning in terms of process is “suffering”; and its underlying anthropological meaning is “to subject my freedom for the need of my brother or sister.”¹⁴⁶

Therefore, to a significant extent, the original motivation of Christians committing themselves to educational and medical ministry seems to correspond with the basic underlying anthropological meaning of the practices of “love the brothers and sisters” and “serve,” that is to sacrifice or to suffer, in terms of money, time, and freedom, for loving people and satisfying the needs of others. Judging from this perspective, social ministry appears to fulfil certain significant requirements of the above practices, thus fitting Yoder’s term of “servanthood”; namely, social ministry can be considered as a practice of sharing and servanthood, which embodies obedience and faithfulness.

The second consideration is the issue of motivation. As discussed in Chapter Two, nobody would doubt that the original motivation of Lam Chi-fung’s participation in service to people in need of education and health care in the early 1950s was driven by his love for his fellow human beings, which was a practice of sharing and servanthood, embodying obedience and faithfulness. However, there were indications that the motivation among Baptists might have turned sour afterwards, which could be well observed in Lam’s public speeches and the lay-leaders’ articles published in the denominational journals.

In 1957, Lam Chi-fung pointed out that the total number of pupils of Baptist schools was only one tenth of the number of pupils of the Roman Catholic schools that

¹⁴⁶ Cartwright, “Radical Reform, Radical Catholicity,” 13.

was about 7,500. In 1958, Yuen Bun expressed an awareness that Baptists were falling behind other denominations in the Christian educational ministry. Baptists should capitalise on governmental resources for developing their educational ministry. In 1970, To Chiu-sing argued that governmental subsidy to Baptist schools was acceptable. He suggested that refusing such subsidy would be a hindrance to the development of the Baptist educational ministry. His criticism was that Baptists had missed golden opportunities of evangelism, while other denominations had more readily capitalised on the government's resources for education.

As a matter of fact, the above opinion was concretely articulated in the statement of proposition concerning government's subsidies to Baptist First Primary School. It was presented by To Chiu-sing, the chairperson of the Primary School Board of the Baptist Association, on May 18 and June 8, 1971.¹⁴⁷ Major points to be noted are as follows: Firstly, the government's offer was a life-and-death issue to the Baptist educational ministry. Secondly, the private schools were unable to survive without government's subsidies. Thirdly, the model of Christian subsidised schools was a common practice of other Christian denominations, such as *Sheng Kung Hui* (the Anglican Church) and Church of Christ of China. Finally, since the population in the district was growing, the school premises could become a stronghold of evangelism in that district.

In other words, these leaders justified accepting subsidies by saying that was a common practice of other Christian denominations and therefore should also be acceptable to Baptists. Practically speaking, it was the only way to prevent the Baptist school from closing down. Moreover, the school premises was not only a gospel point, but an very effective evangelism stronghold in the district. Evidently, those Baptist lay-leaders earnestly urged the members to pass the proposal to accept government's subsidy. They disregarded the possibility that the proposal might cause controversy over the Baptist axiom of church-state separation. Simply speaking, the approach they used was that the end justifies the means, so that, the principle of church-state separation could be forsaken for the sake of evangelism.

Applying Yoder's criteria, the Baptist lay-leaders' actions could hardly represent Christian faithfulness. Since faithfulness means "patience," the Church has to practise procedures patiently though they seem to be ineffective in worldly terms and

¹⁴⁷ See footnotes 60 and 61 in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

contradictory to worldly principles. The ultimate concern of Christians is not the good and effective result, but honouring Jesus Christ.

However, Baptists were concerned about the issues of the school's survival and competitiveness in the field of education, namely, establishing a competitive and effective educational ministry. They were unwilling to await patiently God's providence but were eager to achieve their goals by worldly strategies. In Yoder's viewpoint, the logic of the strategic attitude towards ethical decision is problematic due to "its acceptance of effectiveness itself as a goal."¹⁴⁸ Regarding the approach of allowing the end to justify the means, Arne Rasmusson rightly points out Yoder's objection of the idea, as it always turns "effectiveness" into "a moral value ('responsibility')." In fact, Yoder firmly "defends the final inseparability of means from ends."¹⁴⁹

Yoder uses Reinhold Niebuhr's famous term "irony" to assert that effectiveness is not realistic and people "are not morally qualified to set the goals toward" which they would move history. It is because "when people try to manage history, it almost always turns out to have taken another direction than that in which they thought they were guiding it."¹⁵⁰ In other words, Yoder does not think we can develop social and political theories, such as Marxism, capitalism, and other economic theories, that provide a handle on history and its direction, so that we might calculate what effective political action is.¹⁵¹ What he believes is that "the calculating link between our obedience and ultimate efficacy has been broken, since the triumph of God comes through resurrection and not through effective sovereignty or assured survival."¹⁵²

From this brief recapitulation of Hong Kong Baptist lay-leaders' opinion of the issue, it is, thus, a reasonable inference that the most fundamental motivation of those Baptist leaders seemed to be derived from the mentality of practicality and effectiveness, not faithfulness. To put it simply, they wanted to develop the Baptist community so that they could catch up with other Christian denominations. Accepting

¹⁴⁸ Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus*, 230.

¹⁴⁹ Arne Rasmusson, "Historicizing the Historicist: Ernst Troeltsch and Recent Mennonite Theology," 243.

¹⁵⁰ Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus*, 230. Reinhold Niebuhr says: "The paths of progress in history have in this, as in many other instances, proved to be more devious and unpredictable than the putative managers of history could understand. The course of history refused to conform to the logic prescribed for it." Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Irony of American History* (New York, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), 78.

¹⁵¹ Rasmusson, "Historicizing the Historicist," 242.

¹⁵² Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus*, 239.

government's subsidies to the church-run schools seemed to be one of the most effective and economic strategies. It had been widely practised and proven to be successfully by other denominations, as the campus would become the field for evangelism monopolised by the church. Yoder's explanation of the relationship between strategy and effectiveness offers an illuminating depiction of the core problem:

Even if we know how effectiveness is to be measured – that is, even if we could get a clear definition of the goal we are trying to reach and how to ascertain whether we had reached it – is there not in Christ's teaching on meekness, or in the attitude of Jesus toward power and servanthood, a deeper question being raised about whether it is our business at all to guide our action by the course we wish history to take?¹⁵³

The third consideration is the issue of compatibility of effectiveness and faithfulness. Since effectiveness appeared to be the emphasis of Baptists in Hong Kong contributing to the growth in education in the post-World War II period, the quality of faithfulness of Baptists on this issue seemed questionable. In other words, effectiveness and faithfulness appear to be axiomatically incompatible in Yoder's social ethics. However, it may not be a fully accurate and a complete description. There is no doubt that what God requires his people to practise is faithfulness, not effectiveness. Nevertheless, if faithfulness has priority over effectiveness, then we are in the position to judge what sort of action we can take that may or may not be effective, but will certainly be faithful. The practice of faithfulness does not necessarily exclude effectiveness. We may not be able to favour effectiveness or to guarantee effectiveness, but we do not and should not despise effectiveness. In fact, effectiveness is acceptable as long as effectiveness itself is not be treated as the primary goal and faithfulness is not sacrificed. As Yoder states:

Then to follow Jesus does not mean renouncing effectiveness. It does not mean sacrificing concern for liberation within the social process in favor of delayed gratification in heaven, or abandoning efficacy in favor of purity. It means that in Jesus we have a clue to which kinds of causation, which kinds of community-building, which kinds of conflict management, go with the grain of the cosmos, of which we know, as Caesar does not, that Jesus is both the Word (the inner logic of things) and the Lord ("sitting at the right hand").¹⁵⁴

Thus, communal discernment is an essential prerequisite for Christian practices.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 230.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 246.

The process of discernment, when the Church understands that the business of the Church is the business of the world, is the setting in which the Church seeks to determine practices of faithfulness by which the Church can effectively be the foretaste of the Kingdom.¹⁵⁵ To put it differently, one of the key aspects of communal discernment is to find the best way to do what Christians are called to do and to be who Christians are called to be.

Revitalisation of Baptists' Faithfulness – The Church as a Worshipping Community

Since Sunday worship service is the most important occasion for the formation of Christian spirituality, the renewal of worship services could bring regeneration of Christian life, leading to revitalisation of the faithfulness of the faith community. According to Yoder's discourse, the way to bring revival of Christian life is through the practice of the church as a worshipping community.

Among Yoder's writings, we find a discussion of the importance of liturgy. This key article is entitled "Why Ecclesiology is Social Ethics: Gospel Ethics Versus the Wider Wisdom." The article originated as the first of the Stone Lectures given at Princeton University in January 1980. Some of the major themes explored in the Stone Lectures have been developed by Yoder over the following decades in articles and books, such as "Sacrament as Social Process" (1991) and *Body Politics: Five Practices of the Christian Community before the Watching World* (1993).¹⁵⁶ The concepts and arguments of liturgy and sacrament in these three works can be supplementary to one another to a significant extent.

Yoder's main focus in "Why Ecclesiology is Social Ethics" is on a set of issues raised in a discourse entitled "The Order of the Community" in Karl Barth's *Church Dogmatics IV/2*. The notion that "True Church law is exemplary law" is particularly discussed in the context of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.¹⁵⁷ Craig A. Carter points out that Yoder's approach to the study on liturgy and *Body Politics* is similar to Barth's approach to ethics in *Church Dogmatics IV*. Carter thus asserts that Yoder

¹⁵⁵ Michael Broadway to author, 29 May, 2003.

¹⁵⁶ See the editorial note of "Why Ecclesiology is Social Ethics: Gospel Ethics versus the Wider Wisdom," in Michael G. Cartwright, ed., *The Royal Priesthood: Essays Ecclesiological and Ecumenical*, foreword by Richard J. Mouw (Scottdale, Pennsylvania and Waterloo, Ontario: Herald Press, 1998), 102.

¹⁵⁷ See the editorial note of "Why Ecclesiology is Social Ethics: Gospel Ethics versus the Wider Wisdom," 102.

“takes Barth’s ‘dogmatics is ethics’ method to a new level by identifying politics with worship.”¹⁵⁸

First of all, Barth’s elucidation of the relationship between the life of church and liturgy in *Church Dogmatics* is reviewed. Secondly, the practice of worship in Yoderian thought, based on the works of Yoder and others, is explored. Finally, the impact of Yoderian thought of the church as worshipping community on the renewal of Baptists is examined.

Liturgy in Barth’s *Church Dogmatics*

In §67 “The Holy Spirit and the Upbuilding of the Christian Community” in *Church Dogmatics IV/2*, Barth defines the church as “a human, earthly-historical construct,” whose history involves and will involve human action, where “God is at work in it by His Holy Spirit.”¹⁵⁹ Barth asserts that “the true Church truly is and arises and continues and lives in the twofold sense that God is at work and that there is a human work which He occasions and fashions.”¹⁶⁰ The church is also depicted as Jesus Christ’s community and His body, “created and ruled and upheld by His Holy Spirit in the time between His resurrection and His return in glory,” which is “the earthly-historical form of His existence.”¹⁶¹ It is inevitable that “His particular history, both as history and in its particularity, should be actively and recognisably reflected and represented in its life.”¹⁶²

Barth vehemently claims that “Church law as liturgical law”¹⁶³ or “Church law is liturgy”¹⁶⁴ and three assertions are proposed: Firstly, “all law in the Church has its original seat in the event of divine worship, and that it is primarily established in this particular happening.”¹⁶⁵ The teaching of “where two or three are gathered together in the name of Jesus” in Matthew 18:20 refers to the gathering of the faith community, i.e. synagogue. Jesus Christ, the Lord, “is present and at work” in the gatherings and activities.¹⁶⁶ Secondly, Church law “is originally to be sought and

¹⁵⁸ Carter, *The Politics of the Cross*, 194 and footnote 51.

¹⁵⁹ Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics IV/2: The Doctrine of Reconciliation*, ed. G. W. Bromiley and T.F. Torrance (Edinburgh, UK: T & T Clark, 1958), 616.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 696.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 709.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 706.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 698.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 698-99.

found and known in the occurrence of Christian worship.” Jesus Christ, “the Lord and the Head of the community” is “the One who is attested in Holy Scripture” and “present and active...at the heart of the Church’s life.” He is “the basic law, normative for that which is lawful and right in the Church.” As Jesus Christ is “present and active in divine service,” He is “the law of the whole life of the community.”¹⁶⁷ Finally, Church law “not only has its original seat and its source of knowledge but also...its true and proper theme.” Public worship, the centre of the life of the community, “is at every point a human action.” Hence, in this respect the church has “its treasure in earthen vessels,” and public worship itself “cannot escape the risk involved.” Nevertheless, Jesus Himself is “present and active within” public worship, and He is the one “to protect it against perversion” by His authority and competence.¹⁶⁸

Public worship, according to Barth, is the core of the existence of the church as “the existence of the community finds not merely its most concrete manifestation but also its central point, namely, public worship.”¹⁶⁹ “Church law” that “has to be sought and established and executed in the community” is “liturgical law” and “has an original connexion with the particular happening of Christian worship.” The order of divine service is “to worship” which “embraces and orders the whole life of the community.” Thus, the act of public worship is “the true act” of the upbuilding of the community.¹⁷⁰ Barth argues that the “Christian community is not a mere phenomenon,” but “an event,” or else, “it is not the Christian community.” Therefore, the church “is not itself a foundation or institution,” but “an earthly-historical event,” that is, the earthly-historical form of His existence.¹⁷¹ In short, the necessity and central significance of public worship is the Head of the community, Jesus Christ, who exists in His particular history,¹⁷² and it is “the event which exhausts itself in this name – concrete, limited in time and space, singular and unique.”¹⁷³ Barth expounds the “particular history” as:

It is in this way, i.e., in Jesus Christ, in His particular history, that there was and is and comes true God and true man, the humiliated

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 706.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 709.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 678.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 695.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 696.

¹⁷² Ibid., 695.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 695-96.

Son of God and the exalted Son of Man, the One who fulfils the covenant between God and man, the Reconciler of the world with God, the Word which was in the beginning with God and will also be His final Word, His eternal Word. In heaven, hidden in God, He whose being is this once for all act, this particular history, is the Head of His community.¹⁷⁴

Public worship is considered to be the centre of the life of the Christian community which, firstly, serves as an embodiment of the communion of saints:

It now exists and acts in concrete actuality and visibility as the congregation to which many individuals – each from his own human and Christian place in dispersion – come together to one place at one time in order that together, occupying the same space and time, they may realise the *communio sanctorum* in a definite form.¹⁷⁵

Secondly, it is a witness that makes the Christian community visible to the world:

The dimension which embraces individual Christians and Christian groups is now visible to themselves, and in their common action to the world around. This is the distinctive feature of this action within the wider context of the life of the community; the feature by which it is distinctly shown to be the centre of its life... It is shown to be its centre because here...the community exists and acts in direct correspondence to its basic law, in a particular and not merely a general historicity. In divine service it becomes and is itself a witness to its own being, to its determination in the world, to the factuality of its existence.¹⁷⁶

Accordingly, public worship of Christian community “exists and acts prophetically in relation to the world,” and “there is a serious discharge of its commission to be a provisional representation of humanity as it is sanctified in Jesus Christ.” Barth forcefully asserts that public worship has to be embodied in the everyday life of Christians as it is the essence of “true Christian being and action.”¹⁷⁷

Yoderian Discourse on the Practice of Worship

In “Why Ecclesiology is Social Ethics,” Yoder maintains that Karl Barth’s narrative character of the church implies the life of the church is “liturgical.” He clearly states that Barth’s idea of liturgy does “not mean a concentration on rites.” It is because “the meaning Jesus was known within the categories of ordinary historical

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 696.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 698.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

reality” and his history has to be “re-known” and “re-represented” in a celebratory recounting that “ties the particularity of his history to the particularity of ours.”¹⁷⁸

In “The Hermeneutics of Peoplehood: A Protestant Perspective,” Yoder points out that the function of worship is for “constituting a group ever anew around its common memory.”¹⁷⁹ Yoder elaborates on Barth’s notion of the Christian community as a liturgical or celebrating community where Christians are “accepting, willingly rather than grudgingly, as an affirmation rather than as a limitation, our rootedness in the particularity of Judaism and Jesus.”¹⁸⁰ In discussing the issue of the particularity of Christian faith, Yoder asserts that “worship is the communal cultivation of an alternative construction of society and of history.”¹⁸¹

As mentioned before, the overarching theme of *Body Politics* is developed in the five practices of Christian community which serve as “the paradigmatic public role of the people of God.”¹⁸² They include fraternal admonition, the universality of charisma, the Spirit’s freedom in the meeting, the breaking bread, and induction into the new humanity. This set of social practices is not only relevant to the church, but also offers “models for how other groups and peoples in the world might be ordered.”¹⁸³

Before probing the heart of the Yoderian model of worship, a brief survey of the terms “worship” and “liturgy” would be helpful. James McClendon defines the verb “to honor” as meaning “to acknowledge or recognize one who by her acts or qualities intrinsically possesses it”; and similarly, the verb “to worship” means “to give place to one who is worthy.” Therefore, “to worship God is to acknowledge the worth or honor that is...God’s own, and consequently to find our own location beneath God.”¹⁸⁴ Liturgy, on the other hand, borrowed via Late Latin from Greek, originally meant “any public service or ceremony, and in Greek Christian times meant the Christian worship services, eucharistic and other.” The difference between worship and

¹⁷⁸ Yoder, “Why Ecclesiology is Social Ethic,” 110.

¹⁷⁹ John Howard Yoder, “The Hermeneutics of Peoplehood: A Protestant Perspective,” chap. in *The Priestly Kingdom: Social Ethics as Gospel* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 31.

¹⁸⁰ Yoder, “Why Ecclesiology is Social Ethics,” 113.

¹⁸¹ Yoder, “The Hermeneutics of Peoplehood: A Protestant Perspective,” 43.

¹⁸² Yoder, *Body Politics*, 1. For the detailed discussion of Yoder’s idea of the five sample practices, see the section of “Gospel Order as Paradigm” in this chapter.

¹⁸³ See editorial note of “Sacrament as Social Process: Christ the Transformer of Culture,” in Michael G. Cartwright, ed., *The Royal Priesthood: Essays Ecclesiological and Ecumenical*, 360.

¹⁸⁴ James William McClendon, Jr., *Doctrine: Systematic Theology, Volume II* (Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon Press, 1994), 377.

liturgy is that “to speak of divine *worship* thus puts stress on the one worshipped, on God’s Godhood, while *liturgy*, in contrast, stresses the worshipping congregation, the respondents, and their common action.”¹⁸⁵ In other words, the focus of worship is on God and the emphasis of liturgy is more on the worshipers and their gatherings and actions. McClendon claims that the idea of separating “liturgical” from “nonliturgical” public worship is nugatory. He depicts Christian worship as “the worship of God-in-Christ-by-the-Spirit,” which “implies at very minimum a pattern of initiative and response” in which Christians “return to God some token of his gift” to them.¹⁸⁶ Rodney Clapp elaborates on the meaning by saying that the term “liturgy” comes from two Greek words, *laos* and *ergon*, meaning “people” and “work.” It means not only “work of the people,” but also “work for the people.” For instance, to build a bridge or road for public use on one’s private property would constitute a liturgy.¹⁸⁷ Therefore, liturgy “is the public work par excellence of the church – something that, if omitted, would mean the church was no longer the church.”¹⁸⁸

With regard to the essential shape of Christian worship, McClendon, a Baptist theologian whose theology is drawn from the Anabaptist perspective, admits that no one inflexible pattern of Christian worship is suitable for all places and times. He does claim that “the when and how and where of worship” can be the clues to the shape of worship, namely, the time, structure, and space of worship.¹⁸⁹ Concerning the factor of time, the early Christians did not “celebrate a golden past, a mythic origin ‘*in illo tempore*,’ to which mythic past time they return in worship.” Rather, their worship “looked forward” and “a foretaste of the coming glory of the Lord.”¹⁹⁰ Thus, McClendon states that the essence of true biblical worship is present- and future-oriented, and the remembrance of Jesus Christ by Christians in the gathering is a partial realisation of the coming kingdom of God:

But true biblical worship is never nostalgic and never mythical; its feet are firmly planted in the here and now of today, and its movement is forward, on to the beckoning end. The church remembers only in order to re-member, and its re-membling, its reconstitution of Christ’s body in the gathering, is focused on a

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Rodney Clapp, *A Peculiar People: The Church as Culture in a Post-Christian Society* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 114-5.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 114.

¹⁸⁹ McClendon, Jr., *Doctrine*, 406.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 408.

future coming that is already in part realized.¹⁹¹

Accordingly, what the worshippers do in worship is to “redeem the time.”¹⁹²

With respect to the factor of structure, since “baptists”¹⁹³ are a diverse people, one of the distinctiveness expressed in liturgy is that “[n]o single form of worship...regulates their worship” and “no traditional model from Anabaptists or Puritans or revivalists constitutes their norm.” Christians need to learn how to be Christian and what they need is “a language of liturgy.” It is God’s language, including the sign-language of baptism and sermon and supper, which can become “the language of living.” Consequently, worship becomes “a counterlanguage to the language of the principalities and power,” a grammar and vocabulary by which Christians can speak, act, think, in kingdom ways.¹⁹⁴ Hence, the structure of worship should comprise the parts of education, witness, service, and fellowship. Then Christian worship is their life in microcosm;¹⁹⁵ in other words, their worship is the real world.

Regarding the factor of space, McClendon clearly points out that space for worship is not defined by a building or its style; but “by the gathered people and by the signs enacted in their midst.”¹⁹⁶ The living Christ is the new temple and the lives of Christian are the “reasonable worship” offered in Christ.¹⁹⁷ The closing remarks on worship by McClendon are as follows: Firstly, worship is the core of Christian teaching. Secondly, its essence has to be Trinitarian. Finally, the movement of worship is both centripetal and centrifugal. McClendon’s depiction is noteworthy:

Worship was chosen as a focus for understanding Christian community partly because lines lead from it to every part of Christian teaching: We cannot say what Christian worship must be without invoking God’s salvific dominion over all to the end of time, without meeting at the center Jesus crucified and risen, without encountering the throbbing fellowship of the Spirit. To ask what the church must teach about worship to be the church is implicitly to inquire into all this...when the church worships, it necessarily turns inward, finding its Lord but also itself. That centripetal movement is ordained for us and is “meet and right.” Yet that movement if taken alone misrepresents church and kingdom. Besides the turn in,

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 408-9.

¹⁹² Ibid., 409.

¹⁹³ See footnote 8 in the Introduction Chapter of this dissertation.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 411-2.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 412.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 413.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 415.

there is a turn out; besides liturgy, mission. That other, *centrifugal* movement is ordained for the church as well...Worship has been displayed as mission-oriented, outreaching, inclusive.¹⁹⁸

By pairing the three theological virtues of the Christian tradition, faith, hope, and love, with three practices of the church, education, worship, and hospitality, primarily derived from Christian virtue ethics of Alasdair MacIntyre and Stanley Hauerwas, Jonathan R. Wilson endeavours to present “a guide to faithful Christian living and witness.”¹⁹⁹ He describes “worship as a practice that sustains, and is sustained by, the virtue of hope” and the Christian way of being in the world.²⁰⁰ Based on MacIntyre’s discourse, there is an intimate relationship among practices, virtues, and institutions,²⁰¹ Wilson states that “the practice of worship is set with the church as an institution.” Although the form of the church may vary among cultures and traditions, its purpose is always the same: “to sustain the practices of faithful Christian witness, among them the practice of worship.” Furthermore, the practice of worship can be regarded as one of the criteria for judging the faithfulness of the church.²⁰² Wilson mentions two functions of worship, which are “worship as corrected vision” and “worship as eschatological.”

The former refers to how Christians “learn to see the world as it really is” in the practice of worship, as it is “the most-real world.” Christians, like other people in the world, are continually moulded by other visions of reality and values in the midst of their lives. Worship is thus the occasion for correcting their vision and enabling them to live in hope in every part of their lives by the gospel of Jesus Christ.²⁰³ The relationship between the vision and hope is supplementary. On the one hand, without the practice of worship, the vision of Christians would be continually distorted and their life would be corrupted. On the other hand, without the virtue of hope as the shape of their worship, the practice of worship may also be corrupted.²⁰⁴

The latter suggests that “worship is *the* eschatological act of the church” and Christians are shaped by the virtue of hope that habituates them to “the way of being

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 415-16.

¹⁹⁹ Jonathan R. Wilson, *Gospel Virtues: Practicing Faith, Hope and Love in Uncertain Times* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1998), 12.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 14, 120.

²⁰¹ Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 193-6.

²⁰² Wilson, *Gospel Virtues*, 121.

²⁰³ Ibid., 122.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 123.

in between the times of Christ's coming."²⁰⁵ When Christians worship eschatologically, the worship is "joined by the power of God's spirit with this worship in heaven." Seeing worship as eschatological implies Christians worship with those who died in the Lord, and the worship then becomes the "act of participation in the eschaton."²⁰⁶ Another way to practise the eschatological character of worship is to consider worship to be a practice of the sabbath deemed as an act of hope. It is "a time to turn from the anxieties and violence of the world and to hope and peaceableness of the eschaton."²⁰⁷ Wilson stresses the importance of the eschatological nature of worship that helps Christians to recover a hopeful worship.²⁰⁸ Moreover, there is another significant implication of the eschatological practice that denotes the congruity between worship and the daily practice of Christian life:

Worship, however, is not the only place in our life where we participate in the eschaton. Since hope is a cosmic virtue, the entire cosmos, including all our life, participates in the eschaton. So we cannot segregate worship as an eschatological practice from the rest of life. Rather, worship is important because that is where we practice the hope of the gospel. In the practice of worship we participate in the redemption that claims the entire cosmos. In the practice of worship we participate in the "the most-real world" so that we may by hope live in this most-real world and witness to it in all of life.²⁰⁹

Clapp offers an intensive study on the relationship between worship and the church in the post-modern era. In his earlier work, *People of the Truth: The Power of the Worshipping Community in the Modern World* (1988), co-written by Robert E. Webber, the main theme is twofold: how the church's vision and identity have become confused in the modern world, "a largely de-Christianized situation," and how they can be recovered by living out its "distinctive story" as a worshipping community. Simply speaking, the identity and vision of the church can be recovered in the practice of worship so that the church would be able to heal society's ills.²¹⁰ In his later piece, *A Peculiar People: The Church as Culture in a Post-Christian Society* (1996), Clapp

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 127.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 128.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 129.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 130.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Robert E. Webber and Rodney Clapp, *People of the Truth: The Power of the Worshipping Community in the Modern World* (New York, New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 3-4 and the back flap of the cover jacket.

presents a further study based on his reading of the work of John Howard Yoder.²¹¹

The practice of the liturgy is one of the main themes of the analysis.

Concerning the functions and importance of worship, Clapp firstly notes that worship is to liberate Christians from common sense as “Christian worship is practice in learning to see through common sense.” It is because “the way people see the world is a matter of being inducted into a culture’s language and practices.”²¹² The church is “surrounded, pressured from all sides” that force it to “give up its faithful practices and renounce its confession.” Under these circumstances, the biblical testimony is crucial for Christian enculturation, enabling Christians to be “molded in certain ways, trained in certain skills, in order to see rightly what is happening around” them and to them.²¹³

Secondly, due to the dual aspect of the liturgy, the “work *of* the people” and the “work *for* the people,” it strongly denies the implications that “the church at its worship is necessarily inwardly focused and removed from the ‘public’ world.”²¹⁴

Thirdly, since the Christian church is “a distinctive culture,” worship bears the role of teaching and forming Christians “to live by the Jesus story so that others...will learn to live according to reality and wholeness.”²¹⁵ Worship, then, is able to shape Christians, forming them as a people as it consecrates their lives.²¹⁶

To be human is to worship, to adore, to admire and give our allegiance to powers greater than we, powers that grant our life meaning and purpose, substance and form. Worship presents the world as it is and as it is really supposed to be. It calls us to the imitation of heroes or gods whose ways would set the world right. At worship we consecrate our lives: what we worship or ultimately adore is what we live and die for. And at worship we celebrate our lives: what we worship is the source and sustainer of our existence.²¹⁷

Fourthly, as the church does not exist for itself but for its mission and witness to the world, there is no distinction between the church and the world. Therefore, liturgy is expected to fulfil the role that “the world be brought into the church and that

²¹¹ Clapp, *A Peculiar People*, 9-10.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 96.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 98.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 114-5.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 115.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 121.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

the church go out into the world.”²¹⁸

Fifthly, Clapp boldly claims that worship and the world or faith and politics are “already profoundly connected”,²¹⁹ namely, “the liturgical and the political inevitably meet.”²²⁰ The liturgy is political by nature, as Christians are called to judge all other politics of the world by it.²²¹

Sixthly, the church enacts its story in worship, the story of God creating a world and ordaining reality, of Israel, the original people of truth, and of Jesus, the victor over sin and death. This is the story that “shapes the church and forms it into a community of the kingdom, a people with the resources to live according to reality – true to the rule of God.” Considering the restoration of the church’s identity and vision, the best way to move is to “turn again to the story.”²²² In other words, worship is the occasion for the people of God enacting the story, which is the vital essence for them to be shaped and formed as a faith community. Further, when Christians live by the story, their presence in the world is “one of political depth, a depth pointing to the world’s ultimate destiny in a re-created cosmos.”²²³ This is an implication of depth politics,²²⁴ referring to an interaction between the church and the world.

Depth politics takes place “whenever anyone makes a deliberate and structured attempt to influence how people live in society.” Specifically, it forms vision and identity of the church, that is, the way Christians see the world and understand their purpose in it. Accordingly, worship is regarded as depth politics as it is “a deliberate and structured attempt to influence how people, ourselves and others, live in society.” In fact, worship is so recognised that it “intends to radically change the entire person...nothing less than death and new life.”²²⁵ Thus, the worshipping community living together in conformity to the distinct pattern of Christ, who is the image of the invisible God, is to engage in depth politics as it has to be a challenge to the world:

The Christian community, simply by being faithful to its worship, will inevitably and naturally be “political” (depth political). It will challenge the wider society with the truthful conception of what it

²¹⁸ Ibid., 116.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 121.

²²⁰ Ibid., 123.

²²¹ Ibid., 123-5.

²²² Webber and Clapp, *People of the Truth*, 20.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ The concept of depth politics is adapted from Thomas H. Groome’s definition of “political activity,” see Thomas H. Groome, *Christian Religious Education* (San Francisco, California: Harper & Row, 1980), 15; Webber and Clapp, *People of the Truth*, 125, n.9 of chapter 1.

²²⁵ Webber and Clapp, *People of the Truth*, 12.

means to be a person and to see the world as it really is.²²⁶

Since the church's greatest service is to regain and to live from its distinctive identity and vision, Webber and Clapp post the question: "How? What resources has the church that will renew its identity and vision, enabling it to be a significant and potent depth-political body?" The authors clearly assert that worship or liturgy is "the church's distinctive and indispensable activity" of regaining its identity and vision, and it is also the occasion to shape the life of Christians:²²⁷

It is the celebration of Christ's work shaping the character of a people who journey toward the new heaven and the new earth.
Reconstituting identity and granting vision, worship is the fount from which all the church's depth-political power flows.²²⁸

Before addressing the contents or actions in worship, certain aspects of the peculiar nature and essence of worship are noteworthy.

Firstly, the liturgy is not complete unless the story of Jesus is enacted on Monday through Saturday. Christians are, in fact, obliged to live out the effects of worship in their daily life. Hence, worship relates to everything Christians do and every aspects of their life, that is, work, play, relationship, political involvement, and the rest.²²⁹ It is a response to the problem of the marginalization and privatization of worship in "the modernized Constantinian situation." This situation has produced one of the church's worst crises that the church faces. Christianity has come to be considered "a private preference"; and its worship is regarded as "an opportunity to escape politics, business and conflict"²³⁰ and "necessarily inwardly focused and removed from the

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid., 68.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid., 87-8.

²³⁰ Clapp, *A Peculiar People*, 95. Arne Rasmusson offers a concise elucidation of Ernst Troeltsch's influence on the marginalization and privatization of the gospel in America, who was the leading figure advocating the idea of Christianity's lack of social theology. Troeltsch recognises the important role of Christianity in the formation of the Western World; however, he is skeptical about its role in modernity. The forces he refers to are such as the modern state, capitalism, science, and faith in science. (222) Two principles characterise the modern state (in the form of the nation-state) are secularity and rationality. The former refers to "the idea of the state as the highest moral value. It gives no space to any transcendent purpose." The latter refers to "the idea of the state as created by human intelligence." "The state replaces the irrational divine providence by a rational secular one," as stated by Troeltsch. Thus, the state is sovereign and no values have supremacy over it. In other words, "there is no instance above the state" and "it is not accountable to anyone. Its own interests are supreme, and its base is its internal and external power." (223) It clearly reveals the reason why Christianity "cannot have more than marginal effects on modern politics" in Troeltsch's view. Furthermore, he strongly separates Christianity and politics as he perceives "religious life as something primarily personal and individual. The gospel of Jesus is a combination of absolute individualism and absolute universalism;

'public' world."²³¹ The outcome of this perception is that what Christians do on Sunday is removed from what they do on Monday through Saturday. Christians are taught that worship is preeminently their opportunity to be "fed."²³² Besides, the nature of worship is found to be distorted and its practice is removed from "real life."

Far from being a time of intense engagement with the world, it was moved to a "sanctuary." Far from being an opportunity for people to wrestle with the principalities and powers – to wage the war of the Lamb – worship was decided never to be controversial, always to be comfortable and sentimental.²³³

Thus, it is similar to McClendon's assertion that worship "claims space and time for the Christian story." Moreover, on Sunday, "the church learns what it is to be Christian Monday through Saturday."²³⁴ In Nicholas Wolterstorff's words, "the very rhythm of everyday life was to be a liturgical practice."²³⁵

Secondly, both the gathering and dispersal of the church are indispensable. As with nuclear fusion, through which nuclear energy is attained by concentrating and fusing atomic elements, the church gains its power from its public worship (gathering) and then releases it power for an explosion that sends Christians into the world.²³⁶

Thirdly, the danger of worship originates from its direct encounter and engagement with God, ultimate reality; namely, worship "is not a retreat from reality." Genuine worship is "a response to God and what he has done; in it we make ourselves vulnerable to the story of Israel and Jesus." The difference between sham worship and true worship is that the former "attempts to manipulate and transform God," and the latter "praises God *as he is* and calls Christians to risk the transformation of themselves and the world."²³⁷ Undoubtedly, the problem of sham worship seems to be one of the authors' concerns, specifically, the purpose and subject of worship. They warn us against our mentality of instrumentality toward worship and remind us that the service to God is the top priority in worship, not the individual and social needs:

that is a universalism that goes beyond any particular community. Religious institutions and doctrines are necessary but secondary. So the social nature of the church is seen as not a part of its religious essence." (223-24) For details, see Rasmuson, "Historicizing the Historicist," 220-25

²³¹ Clapp, *A Peculiar People*, 114.

²³² *Ibid.*, 95.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ Webber and Clapp, *People of the Truth*, 101.

²³⁵ Nicholas Wolterstorff, *Until Justice and Peace Embrace* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1983), 154; cited in Webber and Clapp, *People of the Truth*, 99.

²³⁶ Webber and Clapp, *People of the Truth*, 87-8.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 68-9.

Let us make it perfectly clear that worship is not instrumental – it is not undertaken for the purpose of changing ourselves, individually or socially. Worship cannot be reduced to psychological therapy or political consciousness-raising. It is first and finally the service of God and needs no other justification. The transformation of worshipers is not its central aim. In fact, we are not apt to be changed by worship if we come to it primarily to be changed, for then we will be back to concentrating on ourselves. However, noble our purposes, we will once again find ourselves attempting to manipulate God.²³⁸

On the other hand, true worship is “the work of the church for the world.” Christians are required to repeat, remember, and reenact the strange and surprising story of Israel and Jesus over and over again in the practice of worship. It is “truly original art” that calls for its practitioners to “bend themselves to its rules and submit themselves to its forms.” Thus, the “church’s central aim in worship is to gratefully acknowledge reality.” However, Webber and Clapp also alert us that the transformation of the church is only a “by-product” of worship, though it is significant, which occurs “only when the church is determined foremost simply to worship God.”²³⁹ Nevertheless, such “by-product with both individual and social effects” will be generated and “the transformation of individuals and societies” will be inevitable if Christians respond to the story of Israel and Jesus “in its fullness.” It is an outcome of depth politics.²⁴⁰

An expression of the Eastern Orthodox, “liturgy after the liturgy,” is a helpful notion for understanding the meaning of the liturgy of the early church that it “designated services in the temple, but equally designated the ongoing and daily life of the Christian community.”²⁴¹ This is why Clapp maintains that the liturgy is related to the daily mission and is to be carried out seven days a week.²⁴²

Mission is the “work of the people” Monday through Saturday, done after and formed by the “work of the people” on the first day, Sunday. Mission and witness are [is] living every day according to the vision granted to us especially and most intensely when we gather for worship.²⁴³

Similarly, the daily lives of Christians are considered as the continuation of liturgy,

²³⁸ Ibid., 69.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 69-70.

²⁴¹ Clapp, *A Peculiar People*, 116.

²⁴² Ibid., 115.

²⁴³ Ibid., 116.

that is, the Christian life is a liturgical life:

Christians do not stop being Christians after they participate in the Sunday liturgy. They depart to live the liturgy, to celebrate God's goodness, to rely on the skill called forgiveness for the maintenance of truthful relationships, to practice hospitality to strangers in all their diversity.²⁴⁴

Accordingly, Christians are expected to "do the world as God means it to be done" in their liturgical lives, "day to day and week to week."²⁴⁵ Clapp concludes that

...in worship we vigorously enflesh a restored and re-created world – a world returned to its genuine normality through holy abnormality – in a civic and cultural form, a public, powerful, visible, political form that challenges and stands in contrast to all other cultures.²⁴⁶

In short, the liturgy is "the real world," as God is at work "in all of reality...not merely in our fleeting hours of public worship,"²⁴⁷ and able to help Christians "to see what the real world is and equips them to live in it."²⁴⁸ Thus, worship "is not simply world-changing," but "world-making" indeed.²⁴⁹

In order to survive in the polluted world, two solutions are introduced to meet the challenge. Firstly, the Book of Revelation is presented as an argument of the quality of "real life" that shows "how the early church audaciously confronted the world through its worship." John and the Christian community celebrated their worship "as an indication that the way (or culture) of the Lamb was the final and true way of life."²⁵⁰ Wagne A. Meek summaries the business of worship as described in the Book of Revelation as to "stand things on their heads in the perceptions of its audience, to rob the established order of the most fundamental power of all: its sheer facticity."²⁵¹ Secondly, the lives of Christians have to be nurtured by "a holy madness," a special "source of water other than the world's poisoned well," which enables Christians to fight "against great odds and severe resistance" of the world.²⁵² Clapp insists that "the preeminent place and time for Christians to cultivate holy madness is worship," and "liturgy is the primary responsibility of the church because

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 117.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 113.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 112.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 114.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 113.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 95.

²⁵¹ Wagne A. Meeks, *The Moral World of the First Christians* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Westminster Press, 1986), 145; cited in Clapp, *A Peculiar People*, 96.

²⁵² Clapp, *A Peculiar People*, 98.

without worship there can be no people capable of seeing and witnessing to the God of Israel.”²⁵³

To sum up the discussion, it seems that the above theologians share a threefold concurrence of views on worship. Firstly, worship is the real world or the real life, that is, a microcosm of Christians’ lives. Secondly, worship is the occasion to foster a correct vision and to liberate Christians from common sense; worship is a counterlanguage to the language of the world. Lastly, worship is an eschatological practice of Christian daily life and liturgy after the liturgy. All Christian lives are the liturgy, a reasonable worship to Christ, which is regarded as the redemption of time.

Graig Dykstra’s analysis portrays the quintessence of the relationship between worship and the Christian life:

In worship, we see and sense who it is we are to be and how it is we are to move in order to become. Worship is an enactment of the core dynamics of the Christian life. This is why worship is its central and focusing activity. It is paradigmatic for all the rest of the Christian life....To grow morally means, for Christians, to have one’s whole life increasingly be conformed to the pattern of worship. To grow morally means to turn one’s life into worship.²⁵⁴

Webber and Clapp’s elaboration of the dynamics of worship is also worth mentioning:

The church worships so that all of life, individual and social, may become worship. Worship grooms a people to think theologically and act doxologically. That is what Christians are called to do every day of the week and year, privately and publicly: to live in mind of God’s kingdom, with unceasing praise.²⁵⁵

Preaching in Worship

Webber and Clapp claim that among the three actions of liturgy – baptism, the Eucharist and preaching – preaching is most widely expected to form a new different people.²⁵⁶ Simply said, preaching is the most important component in worship in shaping the lives of Christians. In fact, “preaching does what the liturgy does,”²⁵⁷

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 99.

²⁵⁴ Craig R. Dykstra, *Vision and Character* (New York, New York: Paulist Press, 1981), 106; cited in Clapp, *A Peculiar People*, 99.

²⁵⁵ Webber and Clapp, *People of the Truth*, 102.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

and is “a matter of forming identity and vision.”²⁵⁸ Since the liturgy is the occasion to celebrate “the story of Christ, who has introduced the kingdom and defeated the principalities and powers,” the liturgy with preaching is the event to “establish the kingdom, the source of true identity and vision.”²⁵⁹ It must be pointed out that there are two types of preaching: moralistic preaching and nonmoralistic preaching.

Moralistic preaching is a common pitfall that would jeopardise the essence of the liturgy and distort the heart of the gospel. The main problems of moralistic problematic preaching are the following: Firstly, it “focuses not on what God has done, does, and will do, but on what we can do.”²⁶⁰ Secondly, it intends to “domesticate the faith and tame the Christian life into socially approved conduct.”²⁶¹ Thirdly, it summons “people to duties they are capable of fulfilling entirely on their own.”²⁶² In order to avoid moralism, the nonmoralistic preaching has to focus firmly on the proclamation that “God is greater than any of our human construct” and “the story of Israel and Jesus radically displaces all human effort and puts God at the center.”²⁶³

With regard to the essence and functions of nonmoralistic preaching, the following observations are made. Firstly, this type of preaching makes the community conscious of sin and grace. As the gospel is the light of the world, the nonmoralistic preaching fosters, by telling the story of the gospel, the faith community who sees “by the light of the gospel and act in it.” The preaching “forms a community capable of hearing God’s word and doing it.” More importantly, it represents a development of “a taste for the duties and character of the Christian life.” Secondly, the preaching is able to make us love God and to help us to believe in his love for us. For achieving this aim, the preaching has to be relevant to the predicament of a particular congregation; namely, it has to be immediate and alive so that it becomes a sharp edge to cut into the lives of the congregation.²⁶⁴ Thirdly, the preaching is “a communal endeavor, in that the preacher must be present and responsible to his people.” No preacher will be allowed “to

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 72.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 70.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 72.

²⁶¹ William H. Willimon, *The Service of God* (Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon, 1983), 154; cited in Webber and Clapp, *People of the Truth*, 72.

²⁶² Webber and Clapp, *People of the Truth*, 72.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 72-3.

reduce the gospel to an abstract, cold formula," in the course of genuine suffering.²⁶⁵ Finally, the preaching "cannot be separated from life and mission." The preacher needs to be "a credible newsbearer," causing the congregation to understand that he/she has the courage to challenge his/her own predilections in the sermon when he/she struggles "to admit the challenging love and ultimacy of God in all of existence."²⁶⁶

Indeed, the closing assertion of Webber and Clapp on preaching is an illuminating remark about its essence and importance:

Preaching, in short, is the proclamation of reality. Retelling the Christian story of the kingdom's coming and the powers' defeat, it challenges its hearers to embrace a new identity and new vision. It calls the people of God to its provocative status as a diacritical community, reminding and emboldening it to live out its new vision and identity at home, in the workplace, and in the public square.²⁶⁷

Yoderian Worship as a Paradigm of the Renewal of Baptists' Faithfulness

The findings of the survey of Sunday worship services of the three major Baptist churches reveal two significant points: firstly, the over-emphasis on the topics of pietistic individualism, as revealed in worship themes and preaching, and secondly, the negligence of the teachings of church-state relationship and social concerns. The formation of the spirituality of the Baptist worship service could be ascribed to the influence of pietistic theology and the Chinese cultural factor of state control of religion. The survey leads to several observations: firstly, the focal point of worship was shifted from God to the participants and their needs; secondly, a problematic church-world dichotomy was formed; and finally, the practice of worship became privatised and marginalised.

Judging these problems of the practice of worship in the light of Yoderian thought on worship, how can Baptists in Hong Kong hope to find renewal in the post-colonial era? More specifically, what can Baptists learn from Yoder's teaching on worship to

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 73.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ibid. Based on Dietrich Bonhoeffer's concept of "Jesus Christ exists as Community," (55) the church is described as a "depth-political community" that encompasses the following aspects of characteristics: a diacritical community, a community of giftedness, an eschatological community, the community of forgiven-ness, and the community of presence (in chapter 4: The Church as Depth-Political Community, 52-67). Webber and Clapp argue that the church "is not simply a critical community, but a *diacritical community*. The critic calls attention to something wrong; *the diacritic goes one step beyond criticism and distinguished as alternative*. Accordingly, the church intends not only to criticize and contradict the identities and visions of the world, but to present a distinctive, alternative identity and vision." (56)

construct a paradigm for the practice of worship that would bring a solution to the problem stated above?

Firstly, worship is the best way to restore the vision and identity of the church by retelling and enacting the story of God's creation and Jesus' redemption. It is the occasion for Christians to be shaped and formed as a faith community. When the church lives by the story, its presence will become a witness of God and a challenge to the world by offering an alternative way of life. It is the depth politics of the church.

Secondly, the liturgy is a political and public event, as it is the occasion when the church and the world meet. In worship, Christians are shaped and trained as a people so that they are able to judge all other politics in the world. The content of worship refers to both the work of the people and the work for the people, suggesting that Christians are called to carry out "liturgy after the liturgy" in their daily lives. Therefore, it is crucial for the church to prevent the marginalization and privatization of its worship. The ways to avoid the marginalisation and privatisation of worship is to cultivate a "holy madness" as the source of life and as a way of reinforcing the belief of worship as the real life. Worship thus "is not an escape from the real world";²⁶⁸ rather, it is the real world and "constitutive of the church."²⁶⁹

Thirdly, since church-state issue has been an "untouchable" or "forbidden" topic for Hong Kong Baptist pulpit, the lingering doubt about the teachings of church-state separation and worship is: Should the topic of church and state be sermonised in Sunday worship services? Clapps' assertion that faith and politics are profoundly connected and the liturgy by nature is political is an affirmative reply to the question. In addition, it will be helpful to listen to a short discourse of two Southern Baptist theologians.

In *Religious Liberty*, the fourth volume of the series of *Proclaiming the Baptist Vision*, Walter B. Shurden, the editor of the series, explains the reasons for a book on religious liberty. In his words, we ask, "why a book of sermons at the end of the twentieth century on Baptists and religious liberty."²⁷⁰ As religious liberty is central to the Baptist tradition and distinctives, "it should be done on Sunday morning at 11:00 A.M., when most of our people are present for worship." It is because "[i]f a subject is

²⁶⁸ Clapp, *A Peculiar People*, 99.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Walter B. Shurden, "Introduction," in *Proclaiming the Baptist Vision: Religious Liberty*, ed. Walter B. Shurden (Macon, Georgia: Smyth & Helwys Publishing, Inc., 1997), 1-3.

genuinely important for the life of the church, then surely that subject must contend for time at the one hour when most people are present.” Contrarily, occasional seminars for the topic are prepared for those who are “already-convinced.” He maintains that the topic of church-state relationship deserves a place in the pulpit, especially a place in the pulpits of Baptists.²⁷¹

James M. Dunn confirms the assertion of Shurden in his articles, “The Baptist Vision of Religious Liberty,” collected in the same volume. Dunn asks “Can one imagine a preacher wearing the label ‘Baptist’ and not knowing and telling often the story of these heroes of our freedom.”²⁷² He further argues that it is a fault of Baptist pastors who fail to proclaim this particular issue from the pulpit:

Is it possible that any Baptist pastor would not do the homework necessary to speak with authority on the Baptist contribution to religious liberty? If so, shame! To walk past a sign that says “Baptist” and not proclaim liberty from the pulpit of a church so tagged constitutes false advertising. To fail to be in touch with the tap roots of religious freedom suggests a certain deadness of the Spirit and the spirit of Baptists.²⁷³

Since church-state separation is “the essential corollary of religious liberty,”²⁷⁴ sermons on church-state separation should not be absent from the Baptist pulpit. Undoubtedly, the assertions of Shurden and Dunn provide a possible solution to the worry of local Baptist pastors in Hong Kong.

In summary, the revitalisation of the faithfulness of Baptists depends on the heart of worship: The practice of worship has to enact God’s story of creation and salvation, that is, to refocus on God, rather focusing on the worshippers themselves. As Christianity is not a private preference, its worship is a political and public event. On Sunday, Christians learn what it is to be Christian Monday through Saturday. Lastly, the proper teaching of church-state relationship is a must for the Baptist pulpit. This is particularly vital for Baptists in Hong Kong as they are shaped and formed as a faith community. This will address the challenge of the marginalisation and privatisation of worship.

There are two aspects of the outcome of the relationship between the Yoderian

²⁷¹ Ibid., 11.

²⁷² James M. Dunn, “The Baptist Vision of Religious Liberty,” in *Proclaiming the Baptist Vision: Religious Liberty*, ed. Walter B. Shurden (Macon, Georgia: Smyth & Helwys Publishing, Inc., 1997), 34-35.

²⁷³ Ibid., 35

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

practice of worship and the faithfulness of Baptists: Firstly, the Yoderian practice of “the church as a worshipping community” is able to reshape the Christian life and spirituality of the Baptist laity and to foster their proper understanding of the Baptist axiom of church-state separation. Since they are the majority of the decision-making bodies of the Baptist Convention, their understanding of church-state separation would definitely have a significant influence on the formation of denominational policies. Thus, the Yoderian practice of worship is a vital source for facilitating the faithfulness of Baptists on the issue regarding governmental subsidy to the Baptist institutions. The practice of Yoderian worship can lead to a restoration of faithfulness in the church-state practice, embodied in the proper practice in the educational ministry. Secondly, the faithfulness of Baptists on the issue of the educational ministry is expected to be a catalyst a decision to forsake government subsidies to its institutions which explicitly or inexplicitly carry the mission of evangelism. According to the Baptist axiom, using public funding for activities having evangelistic purposes is a violation of the principle of church-state separation, and therefore not a practice of faithfulness.

However, why should the act of Baptists’ abandoning government’s subsidy to their education institutions be considered a practice of faithfulness? Ostensibly, the action of declining government’s subsidy seems not to be in itself a practice. But what is the rationale of the refusal? If the action of the refusal is an embodiment of the refocus on God’s providence, rather than worldly resources and calculation, that requires Christians’ loyalty and single-minded allegiance to Christ, it could be characterized as the way to “follow Christ.” This is one of the eight marks of Yoder’s schematic summary. The subjective meaning of the practice is “imitation and participation”; its sacramental form is “the plow left behind”; its meaning in terms of process is “forsaking”; and its underlying anthropological meaning is “to forsake the good for the best.”²⁷⁵

Therefore, Baptists’ action to decline government’s subsidy can be reckoned as a practice to “follow Christ” which is able to fulfil the resumption of faithfulness of Baptists on that particular issue. In this case, declining government’s subsidy is a rejection of the worldly wisdom of “effectiveness,” regardless of the potential negative consequences according to the worldly considerations, such as the possible shut down

²⁷⁵ Cartwright, “Radical Reform, Radical Catholicity,” 13.

of the institutions due to the financial deficiency. This may cause the loss of privileges and social influence. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly an embodiment of faithfulness.

Conclusion

Clearly, Yoder integrates his understanding of the Jeremianic model with his Christian social ethics.

Firstly, from the Exodus till the mid-twentieth century, Jewish-Christian history has demonstrated that the vocation of being a Diaspora is a divine calling given both to the Jews and to Christians. The faith community, thus, is bound to be a minority in society in terms of population, culture, and values. The minority status should be regarded as a constant, not a variable, of Christian pilgrimage. The church can be described as sectarian as it does not represent the mainstream of society in any aspect and is definitely not a caretaker of society.

Secondly, the confession that Jesus Christ is Lord in both the world and the church. This should inspire faith, loyalty, and enthusiasm in Christians to be truly the church. As Christians are a minority and a community with faith, the norms of behaviour must be different from those of most of the people in a society or the world. The Christian's faithfulness means the abandonment of the effectiveness accomplished by human endeavour and the only measurement of this faithfulness is obedience to Jesus Christ. The church is a conscience, a critical voice, and a new society embodying a new kind of peoplehood in society. Yoder emphasises that Christians are only responsible to Christ, not to any worldly organisation or nation, such as the United States or UK or China. Furthermore, Yoder makes it clear that it is neither the Christian responsibility to make a better world nor to build a stronger nation, as it is absolutely out of their capacity and capability to do so. It must be remembered that only Jesus Christ is the ultimate hope of the world and not other worldly hopes, such as democracy, freedom, capitalism, nationalism, and Communism.

Thirdly, the church is a special kind of political body which shows forth the political meaning of being the body of Christ. The world sees its witness through its practices. Since the practices are evangelical by nature, the church is not inherently "against the world." Rather, it is relevant and redemptive in the world. The church serves the world in her unique way while always refusing to conform to the world.

Rauschenbusch understands “history as universal eschatology” and claims “the church is responsible for the course of history.” The kingdom is to be brought about by the church, not by Jesus Christ, and the church’s task is to make a better world. Yoder recognizes “eschatology as particular history” and holds that the role of the church is the practice of being the church while the kingdom is to be brought about by Jesus Christ himself, not by the church. The emphasis of Rauschenbusch’s model is the effectiveness of the church, that is, how does the church bring about the kingdom and reform the world. The focus of Yoder’s model is the faithfulness of the church, that is, how does the church embody the salvation of Christ as a sign of the kingdom. To Yoder, “patience” is the key to the obedience of the faith community, not their effectiveness. He considers patience is a practice of Christian faithfulness.

When measured against Yoder’s concept of faithfulness, the Baptist lay-leaders’ actions could hardly be considered as the practice of faithfulness. Baptist leaders wanted to accept government subsidies to run their schools so that they could catch up with other Christian denominations. They did not await patiently God’s providence but used worldly strategies to achieve their goals, choosing the most effective and most economic approach. Thus, their fundamental motivation appeared to be pragmatism and effectiveness, not faithfulness.

The Yoderian practice of the church as a worshipping community seems to be the best way to revitalise Baptists’ faithful practice of worship in three aspects: Firstly, it is the occasion for worshippers to refocus on God and to restore the vision and identity of the church. Secondly, worshippers are shaped and trained to be a faith community able to judge all other politics in the world, since worship is both a political and a public event where the church and the world meet. Thirdly, the Baptist axiom of church-state separation has to be preached properly in the pulpit.

If the idea of “the church as a worshipping community” is faithfully practised among Baptists, the lay-leaders serving in the Baptist denominational body would have better training and understanding of the principle of church-state separation, leading to to a more faithful church-state practice. One of the embodiments of the restoration of Baptists’ faithfulness would be the abandonment of government’s subsidies to their educational institutions. There would be a renunciation of the worldly wisdom and “effectiveness” and a refocus on God’s providence, resulting in the practice of following Christ with renewed commitment.

Simply speaking, the strength of Yoder’s ethics is that it is not only for

Mennonites, but is also a “catholic” practice appropriate for “baptists.”

THE CONCLUSION

FROM ESTABLISHMENT TO PERIPHERY

After one hundred and fifty-five years, the era of the colonial church in Hong Kong ended and a new chapter has begun. If the Church was part of the establishment during colonial rule, now is the time for the faith community to seek a new identity. A crisis of confidence of Hong Kong's future was triggered by the meeting of Deng Xiaoping and Mrs. Margaret Thatcher in Beijing in 1982 and by the June 4 Massacre of 1989. As a result, two massive waves of immigration occurred in the colony during the period between 1982 and 1995: about 500,000 permanent residents of Hong Kong emigrated from Hong Kong to foreign countries. Of that number, more than 100,000 were church members. The immigration was a severe blow to the Church in Hong Kong as it resulted in a huge drain on both its human and financial resources.¹ One of the main reasons Hong Kong's Christians were afraid was the uncertainty of political and religious freedom and even the possibility of religious persecutions. Could the Church in Hong Kong survive under an atheist Communist regime?

An Alternative – The Home Church² in Mainland China after 1949

Perhaps a succinct review of the House Church Movement in mainland China after 1949 can explain some of their doubts and worries. The rationale for studying the home church in China is that it is the indigenous church, situated in a Chinese context, showing its incredible vitality in spite of enduring horrible persecutions since the 1950s. In other words, it is the native Chinese Church on China's soil, not an alien transplantation imported from a foreign land. Thus, the Home Church Movement may offer an indigenous model for Hong Kong's Baptists in the SAR era.

¹ Kwok Nai-wang, *Hong Kong Church Faces a New Millenium* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Christian Institute, 1998), 5. For instance, all the attenders, who were pastors and co-workers of Christian organisations, of a seminar for discussing the impact of the crisis of '1997', held on February 27, 1983 before the announcement of the Sino-British Joint Declaration, agreed that this was a common phenomenon among the churches in Hong Kong. For details, see Zhi Xin, "Fulu: Yi Jiu Jiu Qi Wenti Tanta Zuotanhui," ["Appendix: Seminar for Exploring the Problem of 1997,"] in *Articles on 1997*, ed. Chin Pak-tau, rev. edition (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Fellowship of Evangelical Students, 1984), 92-101

² There is no unified English translation of the group of churches in China after 1949 which does not belong to the official "Three-Self Church." It will be called "home church" or "non-Three-Self church" in this chapter and the origins of the name will be briefly discussed in this chapter.

The Name of the Group of Non-Three-Self Church

Concerning the English translation of the terms, “home church” or “house church” or “home meeting,” there is no standardised term. For instance, Philip L. Wickeri uses “home worship gathering”;³ Bob Whyte rejects the term “house church movement,” arguing that it should be called “home meeting”;⁴ Paul E. Kauffman employs both “home gathering” and “family meeting”;⁵ Tony Lambert uses both “home meeting” and “house church” in different periods of time, with the 1970s being the watershed.⁶ There are two terms in Chinese for the churches not belonging to the official Three-self Church: “*Jiating Jiaohui*” and “*Jiating Juhui*.” “*Jiating*” means “family” or “home.” “*Jiaohui*” means “church”; “*Juhui*” means “gathering” or “meeting.” According to the late Jonathan Chao, one of the most authoritative scholars of the church history of Communist China, both terms, “*Jiating Jiaohui*” and “*Jiating Juhui*,” are employed to describe the group of the “non-Three-self Church” in different periods of time in the Chinese official documents and the research publications in ecclesiology of contemporary China. Throughout his significant publications on the issue, the non-Three-self churches are called “*Jiating Juhui*” (“home meetings” or “family gatherings”) before the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution in 1966 and “*Jiating Jiaohui*” (“home churches” or “house churches”) afterwards.⁷ Thus, the outset of the Cultural Revolution seems to be the decisive factor in using the terms which appears to be an acceptable approach; however, Chao does not elaborate on the reason of the difference of the two terms.

Concerning the meaning of the term, Whyte rightly points out “house-church” may provoke particular associations with the modern Western House Church movement which would not explicate accurately the uniqueness of the church practice in the context of China.⁸ Moreover, the meaning of “house” is different from the meaning of “home” or “family.” The former refers to a building, but the latter refers to

³ Philip L. Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1990), 185-87.

⁴ Bob Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter: China and Christianity*, foreword by The Archbishop of Canterbury (London, UK: Collins, 1988), 401.

⁵ Paul E. Kauffman, *Confucius, Mao and Christ*, rev. edition (Hong Kong: Asian Outreach Ltd., 1975), 207-23.

⁶ Tony Lambert, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church* (London, UK: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991), 13-26.

⁷ Jonathan Chao and Rosanna Chong, *A History of Christianity in Socialist China, 1949-1997* and Jonathan Chao, *Chinese Communist Policy Toward Christianity*.

⁸ Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter*, 401-02.

a unit of human relations. As a matter of fact, such a kind of human relationship is the unique characteristic of this group of churches, that is “family-oriented.” This is the essence of a statement that as “a general rule it would be accurate to say that there are as many ‘churches’ in China as there are Christian families.”⁹ Moreover, home gathering or home meetings existed long before the establishment of the PRC in 1949. Due to the economic factor, Christians in most of the rural areas were unable to afford to construct their own church buildings, so that church functions were held at believers’ homes.¹⁰ Judging from the ecclesiological context in China, hence, “home meeting” or “home gathering” (before the outset of the Cultural Revolution in 1966) and “home church” (after the Cultural Revolution) seem to be the more accurate and appropriate terms in English.

The Idea of “Three-Self”

The idea of the “Three-self” originated with Henry Venn (1796-1873) and Rufus Anderson (1796-1880), two nineteenth century missionary administrators from both sides of the Atlantic, neither of whom had ever served on a mission field. The former was a Church Missionary Society (CMS) secretary for thirty-two years, and the latter worked in the home office of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) for forty years.¹¹ The key to understanding Venn’s idea regarding “the native church was his concern that it should potentially be a church of the country, a church that could become self-governing, self-supporting and self-extending.”¹² Venn held that the purpose of mission “was to work to establish churches with such potential and not to extend his own influence over the population to which he had been sent. In this way, the church would be planted by the missionary, but would grow and flourish on its own.”¹³ Anderson’s perception of self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating was “grounded in his opposition to both ecclesiastical colonialism and an individual-pietistic approach to salvation.” Therefore, his purpose of mission was to proclaim the faith of the Bible and to recover the faith of the apostles, but not to

⁹ Kauffman, *Confucius, Mao and Christ*, 217.

¹⁰ Chao and Chong, *A History of Christianity in Socialist China 1949-1997*, 55; Lambert, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church*, 13-15.

¹¹ Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground*, 36-37; David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1991), 331-32.

¹² Max Warren, ed., *To Apply the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Henry Venn* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1971), 26; cited in Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground*, 37.

¹³ Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground*, 37.

extend Western civilization.¹⁴ In short, the idea of “three-self” in the West in the nineteenth century of being “self-governing, self-expanding, and self-supporting,” was enthusiastically discussed among the western churches. Indigenisation was the official policy of every Protestant mission organization.¹⁵

Roland Allen (1868-1947), was an Anglican missionary to China who had witnessed the Boxer Uprising and undergone the charge that Christianity was a foreign religion. He therefore urged missionaries to resist the temptation of giving ready-made answers to native converts in order to avert their attitude of superiority towards all Eastern peoples. Missionaries should avoid fostering dependency and paternalism among the converts, but should rather keep them to count on Christ and the Holy Spirit with the liberty to grow and to decide their own way.¹⁶ He further boldly argued that what hindered the spontaneous expansion was the interference and control exercised by missionaries over the native churches.¹⁷ According to Wickeri, Allen realised that the only way for the native churches to become indigenous was to apply the formula of self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating from the beginning of the ministry. Wickeri gives credit to Allen who is regarded as “the one non-Chinese thinker whose theological understanding of Three-Self Chinese Protestants refer[s] to again and again.” Wickeri argues that the theological meaning of “three-self” is that “the church exists by the grace of God, through the power of the Holy Spirit and under the Lordship of Jesus Christ – and for no other external reason. Its self-hood is guaranteed not by human efforts but by grace.”¹⁸

Three-Self Movement in China after 1949

As discussed in Chapter One, the idea of “three-self” was first introduced by missionaries to China and discussed in the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China in 1877.¹⁹ The same idea was also raised by the Chinese Christians, such as Zhang Zhi-yi, Liu Ting-fang, Wu Lei-chuen and others, in the early

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 294-95.

¹⁶ Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?*, foreword by Lesslie Newbigin (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1962), 3-7, 141-50.

¹⁷ Roland Allen, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church*, foreword by Bishop Lesslie Newbigin (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1962), 32-42.

¹⁸ Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground*, 39.

¹⁹ See footnote 166 in Chapter One of this dissertation.

twentieth century.²⁰

After the establishment of the PRC in 1949, five Christians leaders, Wu Yao-zong, Deng Yu-zhi, Liu Liang-mo, Zhao Zi-chen, and Zhang Ue-yan, were invited to join the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). Wu, the most active participant among them, laid the foundation for becoming the head of the "Three-Self Movement" in the future. In 1950, Wu and a group of Christians from Shanghai, Beijing, and Tientsin met with Zhou En-lai, the Prime Minister, and the "Christian Manifesto," "*Zhongguo Jidujiao Zai Xin Zhongguo Jianshe Zhong Nuli De Tujing*," ("Chinese Christians' Industrious Approach to Building the New China") drafted by Wu, was accepted by the attenders. All Christian leaders throughout the country were asked to sign the declaration published in *People's Daily* on 22 September 1950, signifying official recognition. Jonathan Chao points out the threefold importance of the declaration: Firstly, it was actually an oath of political allegiance to the regime as there was no part of the statement which mentioned Christian faith. Secondly, those who signed it were obliged to give top priority to the service to the regime. In other words, patriotism was the top priority of church's objectives, and the church had to serve the state and to cooperate with the government's policies. Finally, it was considered to be the watershed of the church-state relations in Mainland China.²¹

Superficially, the concepts of "three-self," self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating, were identical with the original ideas, proposed by Vann, Anderson, and Allen, except for the new order of arrangement.²² However, the nature of the movement in the 1950s was a total distortion of the original concept. Functionally, it meant the state control of the church. The church was treated as a social force to be converted into a means of implementing government's policies. Thus, the "Three-Self Movement" after 1949 has become an officially-sanctioned organ to control the church on behalf of the Communist Party. It is also a policy of state-church cooperation which was organised, promoted, and supported by the government.²³

The Korean War (1950-1952) was the most important and immediate catalyst of

²⁰ Jonathan Chao, *Chinese Communist Policy toward Christianity* (in Chinese) (Taipei: China Evangelical Seminary Press, 1986), 97; Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground*, 40-42.

²¹ Chao, *Chinese Communist Policy toward Christianity*, 98. For details of the meetings and the Manifesto, see Chao and Chong, *A History of Christianity in Socialist China 1949-1997*, 17-26; Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground*, 113-33.

²² The order of arrangement proposed in 1877 was "self-governing," "self-supporting," and "self-propagating." See footnote 166 in Chapter One of this dissertation.

²³ Chao, *Chinese Communist Policy toward Christianity*, 97-98.

the "Three-Self Movement." On the one hand, the Beijing government was very suspicious of the stance of the Christian churches during the War, fearing they might provide intelligence to the United States' government. On the other hand, the churches were forced to make a gesture of their loyalty to the government. The government demanded that all the patriotic citizens had to cut off all connection with the American imperialists and fully support the "Movement of Fighting against America and Supporting Korea." Then, a nation-wide movement of political struggle against and persecution of missionaries and church leaders was begun in 1950.²⁴

One of the direct consequences of the "Three-Self Movement" was the persecution of the congregations of home meetings which was considered to a significant obstacle of the development of the Movement. Some independent evangelical (fundamentalist) Christian leaders, including Wang Ming-tao and Ni Tou-sheng (Watchman Nee), considered Wu Yao-zong and those leaders of the Movement as "unbelievers," since they denied certain basic doctrines such as the Virgin Birth and the Second Coming. Thus, many leaders of the independent church adopted a passive and non-cooperative attitude toward the Movement. Wang, Nee, and others openly declined the invitation to join the Three-self Movement. It was their way to practice church-state separation in this context.²⁵ In other words, they became a non-conformist group.

As mentioned earlier, home meetings or home gatherings have existed in China since the early twentieth century. They were a gathering pattern of some non-denominational congregations (Protestant sectarian groups) founded by influential church leaders, such as Wang and Ni. Although these congregations had no visible church building for gatherings, they had invisible centralised organisations and nation-wide networks. One of the reasons for the rapid growth of these churches since the 1950s was that many Christians were disgruntled with their pastors who were involved in a fierce struggle in order to gain political power in the "Three-Self Movement." Their action led a huge number of Christians to stay home from church or shift to the home meetings. Eventually, the home churches' leaders and their home

²⁴ Ibid., 99-100. For details of the nation-wide political struggle and denunciation of the links with imperialism, see Chao and Chong, *A History of Christianity in Socialist China 1949-1997*, 26-61; Wicker, *Seeking the Common Ground*, 133-40.

²⁵ Chao and Chong, *A History of Christianity in Socialist China 1949-1997*, 53-56.

meetings became a thorn in the government's side, needing to be eliminated.²⁶ Simply speaking, their resistance against the "Three-Self Movement" was the underlying cause of the persecution of Christian churches from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s.

In short, the significance of the first decade of the "Three-Self Movement" is threefold: The focus of the first stage, 1949 to 1954, was to achieve the de-westernisation of the Church in China, namely, to disconnect the relationship between the Chinese and Western Churches. The focus of the second stage, 1954 to 1958, was to achieve the centralisation and reconstruction of the Church in China; namely, the existing ecclesiastical organisations and constituencies were targets of reconstruction, so that the Church as a whole would be totally under the government's control. Finally, the "Three-Self Movement" became a patriotic movement when it was officially renamed the "Three-Self Patriotic Movement" (TSPM) in July 1954. Obviously, the nature and priority of the Movement is patriotic rather than ecclesiastical reform.²⁷

The Lessons for Hong Kong Baptists

In 1976, at the end of the Cultural Revolution, many overseas observers, both academics and church leaders, believed that Christianity had been extinguished in China. For instance, in 1966, the Shanghai correspondent of *South China Morning Post* (SCMP) reported that "the final page of the history of the Christian religion in Shanghai was written on 14 August" and the headline read: "Christianity in Shanghai comes to an end." There was another report, under the heading "Christianity is a dead letter in China," in SCMP in 1977.²⁸

However, a few years later in 1979, the office of the TSPM in Shanghai resumed its operation in June. In 1982, Bishop Ding Guang-xun, the Head of the Protestant Three-Self Patriotic Movement, stated that Protestant Christians since 1949 had multiplied more than threefold, from 700,000 to two million.²⁹ In 1984, he reported that number increased to three million. Three years later, he stated in an interview that

²⁶ Ibid.; Chao, *Chinese Communist Policy Toward Christianity*, 99-101; Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground*, 157-70.

²⁷ Chao, *Chinese Communist Policy toward Christianity*, 101-03. For details of the development of the "Three-Self Patriotic Movement during 1954-1958, see Chao and Chong, *A History of Christianity in Socialist China 1949-1997*, 63-117; Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground*, 146-53.

²⁸ *South China Morning Post*, 16 August 1966 and 17 October 1977; cited in Lambert, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church*, 9.

²⁹ Chao and Chong, *A History of Christianity in Socialist China 1949-1997*, 335-36.

China had three to four million baptised Protestants who worshipped in more than 4,000 churches and tens of thousands of homes or meeting points.³⁰ What Bishop Ding mentioned was merely the number of Christians who attended the churches under the registration of the TSPM. He failed to mention the number of Christians attending the non-Three-Self churches, not controlled by the TSPM. According to Chao, Christians in China was estimated to be between 30 million and 50 million in 1981. Although the figure can hardly be verified, it is quite certain that Christianity in China did not become extinct during the Cultural Revolution; on the contrary, it experienced a rapid and substantial growth.³¹ As a matter of fact, home gatherings throughout China never ceased during and after the Cultural Revolution.³²

The purpose of this dissertation is not to give an in-depth and comprehensive study of the church history of China after 1949. Rather, it is to explore the life witness of the home church in China so that Baptists in Hong Kong can learn from this experience to be a faith community embodying faithfulness in the new era. The following two features are the most noteworthy:³³

Firstly, the two decades of total isolation from the outside world and a decade of acute persecution did not eliminate Christianity in China. On the contrary, the Church not only survived, but also grew vigorously. In poverty and humility, Chinese Christians have learnt to survive and multiply under severe conditions. Lambert

³⁰ Lambert, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church*, 10.

³¹ Chao and Chong, *A History of Christianity in Socialist China 1949-1997*, 336-37; Lambert, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church*, 10; Raymond Fung, compiled and translated, *Households of God on China's Soil* (Geneva, Switzerland: World Council of Churches, 1982), viii.

³² For instance, a report in *SCMP* on 12 April 1969 states that Christian small group gatherings took place all over China, both in urban and rural areas. Usually, the number of participants was eight to ten in the big cities, like Shanghai. For the development of the home-church during the Cultural Revolution, see Chao and Chong, *A History of Christianity in Socialist China 1949-1997*, 201-08. Raymond Fung's *Households of God on China's Soil*, based on interviews and personal correspondence, is a good source of understanding the life of home-gatherings, but the weakness of the collection is lack of background information of the stories.

³³ There are many lessons for the world-wide Christian community to ponder from the experience of Chinese Church after 1949, but the reason of pinpointing these two is that they are closely related to the practice of faithfulness of Baptists in Hong Kong. For details of the lessons offered by the Chinese Church, see Chao and Chong, *A History of Christianity in Socialist China 1949-1997*, 280-88; Kauffman, *Confucius, Mao and Christ*, 209-23; Lambert, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church*, 267-69; Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground*, 199-242. For instance, the (non-Three-Self) churches in China transformed into a "de-institutionalised" faith community which is different from the Western institutionalised church. It brought flexibility of the worshipping patterns and reduction of administrative expenses of the church. (Chao and Chong, 281; Kauffman, 217) The deinstitutionalisation of the church also brought unity to the Church in China that embodies the genuine meaning of the body of Christ. (Chao and Chong, 281) Furthermore, the factors that divide Protestant churches elsewhere, such as denominational and confessional claims, have lost their binding power in China. (Fung, ix).

correctly points out that “this is a rebuke to western Christian triumphalism, and reliance on economic power, money and programmes to achieve spiritual ends.”³⁴

What can Baptists in Hong Kong learn from the experience of the mainland Chinese Christians? Some of the Baptist lay-leaders have believed that the effective way to achieve spiritual ends (to develop evangelism ministry) is to rely on economic power and money (government’s land grant and subsidies) and programmes (running Baptist schools). Poverty and humility have been feared as causing the loss social influence and prestige, that is, the crisis of being marginalised. The home church in China, however, is a living example of the truth that strength is born out of weakness, and that “the meek shall inherit the earth.”³⁵

Secondly, the sufferings of Christians have been a testimony to the love of Christ and the lives and deaths of the martyrs since the establishment of the Communist regime have borne rich fruit. The home church has walked the way of the cross.³⁶ Amazingly, the home church has found its roots in Chinese soil through the sufferings. People in China no longer consider Christianity in China to be a foreign religion.³⁷ Fung claims that

For the first time in its history, the church has now won its right to exist in China as a Chinese church. For the first time in its existence, it has its roots in Chinese soil.³⁸

The Home Church Movement in China has demonstrated that the church can grow in spite of acute persecutions. It would seem that Baptists in Hong Kong could learn much from the witness of the Home Church Movement. The Church in Hong Kong, including Baptists, is accustomed to being part of the establishment, a Constantinian product. To a certain extent, the established church or Constantinian church given the impression that the church is free from need of suffering as it is protected and sponsored by the state. During the post-World War II period, some of the Baptist lay-leaders in Hong Kong eagerly sought social prestige and were willing to be absorbed by the government. This was a suffering-free process of becoming the establishment and achieving effectiveness. However, it is not the way of the cross. If Christian suffering is the way that the church plants its roots in Hong Kong’s soil, will Baptists in

³⁴ Lambert, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church*, 267.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., 267-68.

³⁷ Fung, *Households of God on China’s Soil*, viii, x.

³⁸ Ibid., viii.

the new era be able to welcome suffering? If suffering means giving up the privileges and social prestige gained in the colonial era, are Baptists in Hong Kong ready to accept the challenge in the new era? If suffering is unavoidable and is the way that authenticates a true church, are Baptists in Hong Kong willing to embrace this truth?

Ethical Implications for the Educational Ministry of Hong Kong Baptists

As discussed in Chapter Two, the issue of governmental subsidy triggered the debates about ethical considerations of Christian education among Baptists in the United States and Hong Kong. Baptists in the United States reconsidered the purpose and rationale behind their colleges. Some argued that Baptists should get out of the business of higher education, and some suggested that Baptists should remove the schools from denominational control so that they could be allowed to accept federal subsidies.³⁹ Baptists in Hong Kong also re-evaluated the rationale of running Baptist schools. The main argument of the pros, as presented by lay-leaders, was that it was the church's responsibility to share the burden of public education and governmental subsidy, was therefore acceptable; moreover, governmental aid was financially crucial to the survival Baptist schools, which were strongholds of evangelism.⁴⁰ The major refutation of the cons, as presented by pastors, was that helping government to run public education should not be the top priority of the church and the financial burden of running competitive educational institutions was totally beyond the capability of the denomination. More importantly, acceptance of governmental subsidy to Baptist schools was regarded as a breach of the principle of church-state separation.⁴¹ It seemed that Baptists in the United States and Hong Kong could not come to a consensus on a rationale and the role of Christian education.

First of all, what is the Baptist philosophy of Christian education, or should the denomination run Christian schools?

George W. Truett, one of the most influential Southern Baptist leaders and

³⁹ Edward L. Queen II, *In the South the Baptists are the Center of Gravity: Southern Baptists and Social Change, 1930-1980*, preface by Martin E. Marty (Brooklyn, New York: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1991), 106.

⁴⁰ This is the argument of two articles written by two Baptist lay-leaders, Yuen Bun and To Chiu-sing. For details, see the section of "Opinions of the Pros and Cons in the Baptist Publication" in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

⁴¹ This is the argument of two articles written by two senior Baptist pastors, the Rev. Paul Y. K. Wong and the Rev. Princeton S. Hsu. For details, see the section of "Opinions of the Pros and Cons in the Baptist Publication" in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

theologians in the early twentieth century, claims that the Baptist denomination is “a teaching denomination.” Baptists should try their best to vitalise and to strengthen the ministry of Christian education. It is because the values taught in the schools conducted by the state are simply incomplete and the wisdom and inspiration offered by Christian schools is the missing link of public schools. Thus, it is the church’s responsibility to give their best support to the educational business in society by running their own Christian schools. Truett argues that the objective of Christian education is to train not only church leaders but also a host of the leaders in civil and business sectors as well. Truett concludes the discourse by affirming that “civilization without Christianity is doomed.” The importance of Christian education is that since it offers hope for the individual, for society, and for civilisation, Baptists have a divine calling to strengthen and magnify their Christian schools.⁴²

By way of summary, it seems that Truett as well as the Baptist community in America have strongly upheld the necessity of Christian education. Actually, Lam Chi-fung, the local Baptist leader in Hong Kong in the post-World War II period, had a philosophy of Christian education very much like of that of Truett. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Lam completely agreed with Sir Alexander Grantham that only Christian education could transform individuals and society. He also was convinced that providing excellent Christian education in the world was a Baptist heritage.⁴³ However, Truett never addressed the issue of accepting public funding. A possible explanation is that governmental subsidy to church institutions had not emerged as a serious problem in the 1920s when Truett’s sermon was delivered. Nevertheless, Truett argued that the task of evangelism should be the top priority over all Christian programs. He maintained that “[o]ur churches, our schools, our religious papers, our hospitals, every organization and agency of the churches should be kept aflame with the passion of New Testament evangelism.”⁴⁴ In other words, all other ministries, such as education and medical service, are the channels for doing evangelism. Judging from the consistency of his discourse on church-state separation in the same sermon (mentioned in the Introduction Chapter of this dissertation), Truett strongly opposed the idea of using public funds for expanding Christ’s kingdom. It can be

⁴² George W. Truett, “Baptists and Religious Liberty,” in *Proclaiming the Baptist Vision: Religious Liberty*, ed. Walter B. Shurden (Macon, Georgia: Smyth & Helwys, 1997), 81.

⁴³ For details, see the section of “Lam Chi-fung’s Philosophy of Christian Education,” in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

⁴⁴ Truett, “Baptists and Religious Liberty,” 81-82.

inferred that Truett would have opposed accepting governmental aid for Baptist institutions, especially since Christian education could be considered as a means of evangelism.

In fact, the role and importance of Christian education were reaffirmed by a statement prepared for the 1964 celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the organisation of the first Baptist national body in America:

Our Christian schools have a responsibility to train and inspire men and women for effective lay and vocational leadership in our churches and in the world. The churches, in turn, have a responsibility to support adequately all their educational institutions.⁴⁵

Based on the above analysis and the previous discourse on governmental subsidy to Baptists in Chapter Two, we can come to the conclusion suggested by Edward L. Queen II that "Baptists have never opposed the existence of religious schools, only the use of public monies for their maintenance and support." He argues that Baptists actually have opposed direct and indirect federal aid to denominational schools from the beginning.⁴⁶ In fact, this is a logical inference which can be employed as the ethical basis of Christian educational ministry of Baptists. Therefore, Hong Kong Baptists should be enlightened by this ethical norm when they face a similar issue.

Then, the question remains: what should be the ethical considerations for the educational ministry of Hong Kong Baptists in the new era?

First of all, offering Christian education to Hong Kong society by Baptists is by no means in conflict with any biblical principles and denominational axioms. Secondly, Baptist schools should not accept any governmental direct or indirect subsidy. Thirdly, Baptists should run fewer schools in order to consolidate all their resources into these schools while they are facing the problem of financial deficiency. If their limited resources can only maintain the operation of one private school, then Baptists should choose one and close the rest. If they are financially unable to run even a single private school, they simply should quit the education business and turn

⁴⁵ Ralph A. Herring and others, "Baptists Ideals," in Walter B. Shurden, *The Baptist Identity: Four Fragile Freedoms* (Macon, Georgia: Smyth & Helwys Publishing, Inc., 1993), appendix VII, 114. According to Shurden, the statement, prepared by a committee chaired by Ralph A. Herring, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and eighteen Southern Baptist Convention leaders and scholars, "describes the Baptist concepts of religious authority, the individual, the Christian life, and the church." The discussion of "Christian Education" is arranged in the final section entitled "Our Continuing Task." (103)

⁴⁶ Queen II, *In the South the Baptists are the Center of Gravity*, 103.

the schools over to the government. In other words, Hong Kong Baptists should run private schools which receive no subsidy from the government. This is the only way to prevent the educational ministry of Baptists from violating the axiom of church-state separation. Most importantly, the practice of governmental subsidy-free policy is an embodiment of the practice of faithfulness of Baptists (as mentioned in Chapter Five). Samuel Wells rightly points out the keynote, "Dependence on God's providence is a demonstration of faith that, in Jesus and the Holy Spirit, the Father has already given the church all it needs to cope with any crisis that might come along."⁴⁷ This is a practice of Baptist faith and a witness to Jesus Christ that the expansion of Christ's kingdom does not count on the worldly measures, such as public funds.

The Summary

The first encounter of Christianity and Hong Kong was accompanied by cannons, the major force of opening the door of China in the mid-nineteenth century. The intertwining of colonialism and mission was the main motif of Christianity in the West since the era of the Enlightenment; and a catchword of the "three C's" of colonialism: Christianity, commerce, and civilisation, is a lucid explanation of the phenomenon. Western missionaries were trapped in the dilemma of "the Gospel and cannon" in the mission field of China and the evangelical theology of providence was the gist of the rationale behind the justification of "missions and imperialism."

The first group of missionaries that stationed in the colony were Baptists who moved from Macau within two weeks after the enforcement of the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842. The first half century was the period of laying the foundation of the Baptist movement in the colony by the industrious labour of the Southern and American Baptist missionaries from the United States. Hong Kong Baptist Church, the first Baptist church and mother church of the Baptist churches in the colony, has been a mission-oriented church that carried out the Baptist movement in the territory single-handedly since its independence in 1901. The establishment of the Baptist denominational body in 1938 represents a developing stage of the Baptist ministry. When Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church and Kowloon City Baptist Church became fully-fledged, it signified the take-off stage of the Baptist movement in Hong Kong in

⁴⁷ Samuel Wells, *Improvisation: The Drama of Christian Ethics* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Brazos Press, 2004), 30.

the post-World War period.

Baptists in Hong Kong were committed to social ministry, particularly in education and medical service, under the leadership of Lam Chi-fung, in the 1950s and the 1960s. One of the most important factors contributing to the rapid growth of other Christian denominations in the colony was that they accepted governmental subsidy to their schools, considered to be strongholds of evangelism ministry. This seemed to be the truth in the eyes of some Baptist lay-leaders. Thus, they believed that accepting governmental subsidies was the only way to survive for Baptist schools and for catching up with other denominations. However, the issue aroused a fierce debate between the laity and the pastors among Baptists as it might be a violation of the Baptist axiom of church-state separation. Due to the unique Baptist polity, the laity has always represented the majority of the denomination's decision-making bodies and the resolution for accepting government's subsidies was passed. The establishment of the HKBEA, a nominally independent incorporation, was considered to be a solution to the controversy, or at least, a loophole.

The significance of the issue is twofold: firstly, it was the first corporate action signifying the church-state practice of Hong Kong's Baptists; and secondly, Baptists were absorbed into the establishment by the government as one of its agents of education. Some possible explanations of the phenomenon include: Firstly, Christian education was regarded as an effective means of protecting the colony from the spread of Communism from the north. It seemed to be not only a consensus between Sir Alexander Grantham and Bishop Hall in Hong Kong, but also a policy applied to other British colonies, such as Malaya, in the same period. Secondly, the patronage relation and *kuan-hsi* (networks) in Chinese culture appear to be discernible factors contributing to the social behaviour of Lam Chi-fung and Chinese Christians as a whole.

As the decision-making process is likely to be dominated by the Baptist laity due to their majority status, their church-state concept would definitely have a direct influence on the formation of the related policies. In fact, most denomination's official posts were held by the members of the above-mentioned three largest Baptist churches. Since Sunday worship service is the most significant occasion for the formation of believers' spirituality, the policies in social ministry, such as education, can be considered as a reflection of a collective understanding of the church-state practice among lay-leaders edified in Sunday worship services in their churches.

The findings of the survey of the above Baptist churches' Sunday worship service reveals an over-emphasis on the topics related to pietistic individualism in the areas of worship themes and preaching. Indifference to the teachings of church-state relationship and social concerns was a corollary of the pietistic heritage. Thus, the church-state practice of Baptists was likely to be influenced and shaped by the practice of their worship service. The spirituality of pietistic individualism of Baptist worship service was possibly fostered by the following factors: Firstly, the theology of Wang Ming-tao, a prevailing heritage of premillennialism in Chinese theology, is the most essential element shaping the spirituality and theology of Chinese Christians world-wide in the twentieth century. Secondly, the Chinese cultural factor of state control of religion has internalised an uncritical attitude among Chinese Christians toward government, making socio-political issues "untouchable" topics in the pulpit. The Chinese tradition of state control of religion has contributed to Chinese Christians' willingness to cooperate with its state. Lastly, the domestication of worship service at the "holy hour" on Sunday is a natural outcome of such characteristics of inwardness and self-centredness. In summary, Baptists' practice of Sunday worship service seemed focused on the participants and their needs rather than on God.

The missionary-run school system was the pioneer and foundation of the educational system in the territory. The church and missionary-run schools provided an English-educated elite group in the colony, acting as a bridge between the minority foreign community and the Chinese indigenous community. Many of the alumni of the missionary-run schools were politically and socially influential figures in both Hong Kong and China. Eventually, this Chinese Christian elite group became a part of the colonial establishment. The overlapping roles of being the church leaders and leaders of society led the church to become less confrontational and less critical to the government. As the result, there was the dilution of the church's prophetic vision and its voice in society. The privileges and social prestige granted the churches and their leaders by the colonial government cultivated a dependency mentality among Christians.

This kind of socio-political context allowed the church to be absorbed by the government, becoming a component of the administrative mechanism. This absorption was a crucial factor for maintaining the colony's political stability. The theory of administrative absorption of politics is the most comprehensive sociological

model to depict the tension. In Hong Kong situation, the formal function of the model is to absorb the Chinese intellectuals into the colonial bureaucracy, and the informal function is to absorb wealthy and prominent Chinese community leaders into the political circle. A sociological model of "institutional channelling" was constructed for describing the church-state relationship in Hong Kong. It perceives that the activities and development of the Catholic and Protestant churches in Hong Kong are conditioned by the government's large-scale financial support. This makes the subsidized churches and para-church organisations become less critical or remain mute due to the government's financial channelling.

However, the common drawback of these models does not pinpoint the most crucial factor of the church-state relationship in Hong Kong, that is, the nature of the Constantinian church. Yoder's concept of the Constantinian church, particularly the "neo-neo-Constantinianism" may be one of the best models as it is able to explicate the predicament of the church in Hong Kong from theological, ecclesiological, and historical-political perspectives. While the church remains informally powerful, it functions as an informal administrative agency of the government or even as a part of the government. Undoubtedly, "Constantinianism is a hard habit to break" when it seems that Christians can do so much good by remaining "in power."

According to Yoder, constantinisation of the church is one of the most critical events in the history of the church and state relationship, and the consequences are disastrous to the western church. It breaches the voluntary membership basis of the church. For example, everybody in society was considered Christian after the church became the official religion of the Roman Empire, for church membership was mandatory. There was a dramatic reversal of the social status of the church, that is, a minority to become the majority. This deceived the church into believing that they were the only caretaker-in-charge of society. They were convinced that it was their responsibility to manage it; otherwise the world would fall apart without them. The change of status also entrusted the church with the authority to interpret the "rightness or wrongness of behavior," and the worst of it was that they sought to manipulate the outcome of social processes by utilitarian reasoning, compromises, and "lesser evil arguments." This approach totally eroded the integrity and morality of the church. Effectiveness, a concept alien to the Gospel, has become a dominant mentality among Christians. Yoder would say the constantinisation of the church represents the "fall of the church." Two visible realities, the church and the world, were fused so that

“there is no longer anything to call the ‘world’; state, economy, art...and war have all been baptised.” The transformation was completed in the Reformation as the Reformers sought protection from city-states, leading them to be silent in the face of nationalism and the military policy of their respective governments. The ruler began to assume the role of the bishop.

Evidently, Yoder’s paradigm of church-state relations is an integration of his concept of Constantinianism, the Jeremianic model, and discourse on Christian social ethics. This discourse includes the following elements: the exodus, the confession of Jesus as Lord in both the world and the church, the church as a special kind of political body setting forth the political meaning of being the body of Christ. Yoder’s eschatology perceives the kingdom is brought about by Jesus Christ himself, not by the church. He insists that the role of the church is not to reform the world, but to embody the salvation and love of Jesus Christ. In other words, the church is only a sign of the kingdom, not the maker of the kingdom. Christian faithfulness and patience are the central issues.

Judging from Yoder’s concept of faithfulness, the actions taken by some Hong Kong’s Baptist lay-leaders could hardly be considered as a practice of faithfulness, but in fact it seemed to be the other way around. They readily accepted government subsidy to the Baptist institutions derived from the motivation of catching up with the education ministry of other Christian denominations. They did not practise “patience” and attempted to achieve their goals by worldly strategies that seemed to be the most effective and economic approach.

Yoderian practice of the church as a worshipping community appears to be the best way for revitalisation of Baptists’ faithful practice of worship. This can help worshippers to refocus on God and to restore the vision and identity of the church, to help them to judge all other politics in the world, to help them to have proper teaching on church-state relations. One of the signs of the restoration of Baptists’ faithfulness would be the abandonment of government’s subsidies to their schools, which would amount to renouncing the worldly wisdom of effectiveness and a deed of refocusing on God’s providence.

Finally, the growth of the home church in China after 1949 is an example for Baptists to ponder. It is an indigenous church on China’s soil, having experienced a rapid growth without any outside support and assistance under severe persecutions. This is a positive model of the practice of faithfulness.

The Closing Words

Joseph E. Stiglitz (the Nobel Prize Winner in Economic Sciences 2001), former Chief Economist and Senior President of the World Bank, left the Bank in January 2000. The reason of his resignation was that the United States Treasury put enormous pressure on the World Bank to silence his criticisms of the policies which they and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had pushed.⁴⁸ His resignation suggested that no one would speak for the poor countries in the highest level of the world economic system. He said that he does not want to be shut up, nor does he want to shut himself up. Thus, he made the decision.⁴⁹ In other words, Stiglitz implies that since he was unable to speak up for those who are suffering injustice while he remained in the establishment, he chose to resign.

Stiglitz's action may be enlightening for Baptists in Hong Kong if they want to avoid a moral predicament. If Baptists find they are unable to practise faithfulness due to their integration in the establishment, it is the time for them to be disestablished. They must not allow themselves to be trapped by the establishment anymore. The starting point of the disestablishment of the Baptist community in Hong Kong is that Baptists have to be free of the mentality of effectiveness and of the dependency syndrome and must renounce the privileges acquired from the government.

The new era of Hong Kong has already begun, and it is the time for Baptists in Hong Kong to have a new beginning. Since the home churches in China have been able to survive and grow under severe persecutions without any outside assistance and resources, they can be taken as a model for Baptists in Hong Kong to ponder on their practices in the new era. It may be the time for them to shift from the establishment to the periphery, even though "not everyone else will be doing the same thing," as Yoder argues.

As the Lord Almighty told Zechariah, "Not by might nor by power, but by my

⁴⁸ Joseph E. Stiglitz, "Joseph E. Stiglitz Autobiography," in Nobelprize.Org - Economics - Laureates; English; available from <http://nobelprize.org/economics/laureates/2001/stiglitz-autobio.html>; Internet; accessed 23 September 2004. Stiglitz explains that "I had come to the World Bank under an agreement that I would be more than a corporate spokesperson, that I could speak out on the relevant issues, in a responsible way. I believed, in part, that the credence that would be given to what I said – and my ability to advance the development agenda – depended in part on the perception that I was expressing my views, not just repeating the institution's official views. Under Treasury pressure, it was impossible to maintain this kind of independence, which had been a hallmark of the World Bank's research division, at least from the time that it achieved international prominence under the leadership of Hollis Chenery."

⁴⁹ "Editorial: *Wei Xiaochu Uan Qiu Pin Fu Uan Shu Na Han*," ["A Cry for Eliminating the Global Gap Between the Rich and the Poor,"] *Yazhou Zhoukan* (Hong Kong) 13, 50 (1999): 7.

Spirit.” (Zechariah 4:6) This is the guarantee from God of our faithfulness.

APPENDIX

Table 1
Numbers of Membership of the
Three Largest Baptist Churches in Hong Kong, 1938 – 2000

Year	Hong Kong Baptist Church (HKBC)	Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church (TSTBC)	Kowloon City Baptist Church (KCBC)	Membership of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong (BCHK)	%	Total No. of Member Churches
1938 ¹	1,580	N/E	N/E	1,778	88.86	3
1939 ¹	1,671	200	N/E	2,192	85.36	5
1940 ¹	1,830	279	192	2,761	83.33	6
1948 ¹	2,528	586	678	4,609	82.27	7
1958	1,891 ²	N/A	3,113 ⁴	12,148 ⁵		31 ⁶
1968	2,573 ²	2,692 ³	4,432 ⁴	20,005 ⁵	48.47	49 ⁶
1978	2,980 ²	3,472 ³	6,489 ⁴	28,587 ⁵	45.27	57 ⁶
1984	3,317 ²	4,118 ³	7,990 ⁴	32,174 ⁵	48.87	72 ⁶
2000 ⁷	4,112	4,500	12,161	57,503	36.13	82

N/E – Not Established

N/A – Not Available

Note:

¹: Data of these years taken from Taam Hei-tin, “Statistics of the Membership of the Baptist Churches in Hong Kong for Twenty Years,” in *Special Memorial Issue for the Twentieth Anniversary of The Hong Kong Baptist Association 1938-1958* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association, 1958).

²: Data of these years taken from “Statistics of Membership” of *Hong Kong Baptist Church Annual* (in Chinese) of the respective years.

³: Data of these years taken from “Statistics of Membership” of *Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church Annual* (in Chinese) of the respective years.

⁴: The data of these years taken from “Members’ Name List,” Kowloon City Baptist Church, 2003, accessed 10 December 2003.

⁵: Data of these years taken from “Statistics of Membership of the Baptist Churches and Church Growth,” in *Special Memorial Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong), 1989, 112.

⁶: Data of these years taken from “Statistics of Membership of the Baptist Churches and Church Growth,” in *Special Memorial Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong), 1989, 111.

⁷: Data of the year taken from “Statistics of the Member Churches’ Ministry 2000,” in *The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong Annual Report 2000* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong), 2001, 175-76.

Table 2

**The Three Largest Baptist Churches' Offering to
The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong in 1978¹ and 1984²**

Year	Hong Kong Baptist Church	Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church	Kowloon City Baptist Church	Total Offering Received by BCHK from All Baptist Churches	%
1978	\$45,000	\$58,785	\$30,000	\$226,546	59.05
1984	\$175,000	\$161,384	\$75,000	\$633,904	64.89

Currency – Hong Kong dollar (HK\$)

Note:

¹: Data taken from "Statistics of the Member Churches' Ministry of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong – 1978," *The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong Annual Report 1978* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong, The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1979).

²: Data taken from "Statistics of the Member Churches' Ministry of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong – 1984," *The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong Annual Report 1984* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong, The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1985).

Table 3

**The Three Largest Baptist Churches' Offering to
The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong and the Related Baptist Institutions
in 2000¹**

	The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong (BCHK)	Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary ² (HKBTS)	Baptist Mission Centre ³ (BMC)
HKBC	\$400,000	\$1,218,300	\$250,000
KCBC	\$252,000	\$340,000	\$36,000
TSTBC	\$265,000	\$90,718	Nil
Total Offering from the Above Churches	\$917,000	\$1,649,018	\$286,000
Total Offering Received from All Baptist Churches	\$3,656,166.25	\$5,100,924.20	\$925,509.40
Percentage	25%	32.33%	30.9%

Currency – Hong Kong dollar (HK\$)

Note:

¹ Data taken from "Statistics of the Member Churches' Ministry of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong – 2000," *The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong Annual Report 2000* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong, The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 2001), 177-78.

² It was established in 1952. See: Kong Yiu-chuen Alfred, "Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary," in *Special Issue for Sixtieth Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1998), 46.

³ It was established in 1998. See: Yau Wai-yip Ellis, "Mission Centre, The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong," in *Special Issue for Sixtieth Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1998), 49.

Table 4

Chairpersons/Presidents of the Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938 – 1984

Year	Chairperson (1938-1973) President (1974-1984)	Hong Kong Baptist Church	Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church	Kowloon City Baptist Church	Other Baptist Churches
1938	Rev. Lau Yuet-shing	√			
1939	Rev. Lau Yuet-shing	√			
1940	Wong Kwok-suen (Deacon)	√			
1941	Lam Chi-fung (Deacon)			√	
1942 To 1945	Total Halt of the Operation of the Convention due to the Japanese Occupation of Hong Kong				
1946 To 1970	Lam Chi-fung (Deacon)			√	
1971	Rev. Wong Yat-keung Paul	√			
1972	Rev. Chang Y. K. Daniel			√	
1973	Rev. Chang Y. K. Daniel			√	
1974	Rev. Chang Y. K. Daniel			√	
1975	Tse Chi-wai Daniel (Deacon)		√		
1976	Tse Chi-wai Daniel (Deacon)		√		
1977	Rev. Chang Y. K. Daniel			√	
1978	Tse Chi-wai Daniel (Deacon)		√		
1979	Lam Si-hin (Deacon)			√	
1980	Lam Si-hin (Deacon)			√	
1981	Cheng Yuk-ling (Deacon)	√			
1982	Cheng Yuk-ling (Deacon)	√			
1983	Cheng Yuk-ling (Deacon)	√			
1984	Cheng Yuk-ling (Deacon)	√			

Source:

“Names of the Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, President, Vice President, and General Secretary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong,” in *Special Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1989), 108-10.

Table 5

Vice Chairpersons/Vice Presidents of the Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938 – 1984

Year	Vice Chairpersons (1938-1973) Vice Presidents (1974-1984)	Hong Kong Baptist Church	Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church	Kowloon City Baptist Church	Other Baptist Churches
1938	Wong Kwok-suen (Deacon)	√			
1939	Wong Kwok-suen (Deacon)	√			
1940	Rev. Lau Yuet-shing	√			
1941	Rev. Lau Yuet-shing	√			
1942 - 1945	Total Halt of the Operation of the Convention due to the Japanese Occupation of Hong Kong				
1946 - 1953	Rev. Lau Yuet-shing	√			
1954	Taam Hei-tin (Deacon)		√		
1954 - 1957	Taam Hei-tin (Deacon) Rev. Chang Y. K. Daniel		√	√	
1958	Rev. Chang Y. K. Daniel Taam Hei-tin (Deacon)		√	√	
1959	Taam Hei-tin (Deacon) Rev. Chang Y. K. Daniel		√	√	
1960	Taam Hei-tin (Deacon) Rev. Wong Yat-keung Paul	√	√		
1961	Rev. Wong Yat-keung Paul Rev. Hsu Princeton S.	√	√		
1962	Rev. Wong Yat-keung Paul Siu Cheong-yip (Deacon)	√		√	
1963	Rev. Wong Yat-keung Paul Rev. Hsu Princeton S.	√	√		
1964	Rev. Auyeung Hing-cheung Rev. Wong Yat-keung Paul	√	√		
1965	Rev. Hsu Princeton S. Rev. Auyeung Hing-cheung		√ √		
1966 - 1967	Rev. Hsu Princeton S. Rev. Auyeung Hing-cheung		√		
1968	Rev. Wong Yat-keung Paul Rev. Auyeung Hing-cheung	√	√		
1969	Rev. Wong Yat-keung Paul Rev. Hsu Princeton S.	√	√		
1970	Rev. Wong Yat-keung Paul Rev. Chang Y. K. Daniel	√		√	
1971	Lam Si-hin (Deacon) Wong Y. K. David (Deacon)			√	
1972	Rev. Tong Pak-shun Rev. Liu Chi-kun		√		√
1973	Tse Chi-wai Daniel (Deacon) Rev. Lo Man-yum	√	√		
1974	Tse Chi-wai Daniel (Deacon) Rev. Princeton S. Rev. Lo Man-yum	√	√	√	

1975	Rev. Lai Kwong-wing Cheung Bun-bun (Deacon) Rev. Wong Chung				√ √ √
1976	Rev. Chang Y. K. Daniel Cheung Bun-bun (Deacon) Rev. Wong Chung			√	√ √
1977	Rev. Liu Chi-kun Rev. Wong Chung Rev. Chan C. Y. Calvin		√		√ √ √
1978	Rev. Lau Fook-chuen Rev. Wong Chung Rev. Chan C. Y. Calvin				√ √ √
1979	Rev. Chan C. Y. Calvin Rev. Leung Tak-shun Rev. Lau Fook-chuen				√ √ √
1980	Rev. Chan C. Y. Calvin Cheng Yuk-ling (Deacon) Yu Kai-sui (Deacon)	√			√
1981	Yu Kai-sui (Deacon) Rev. Chan C. Y. Calvin Rev. Chee Hing-chow		√		√ √ √
1982	Rev. Chan C. Y. Calvin Rev. Leung Tak-shun Rev. Lau Fook-chuen				√ √ √
1983	Rev. Lau Fook-chuen Rev. Chan C. Y. Calvin Rev. Leung Tak-shun				√ √ √
1984	Rev. Chan C. Y. Calvin Rev. Leung Tak-shun Rev. Lau Fook-chuen				√ √ √

Note:

With two or three incumbents, they are displayed in the order of the 1st vice chairperson/president, 2nd vice chairperson/president, and 3rd vice chairperson/president from the top

Source:

"Names of the Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, President, Vice President, and General Secretary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong," in *Special Issue for the Golden Anniversary of The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 1938-1988* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 1989), 108-10.

Table 6

**Survey of Sermons of Sunday Worship of Hong Kong Baptist Church
on the Topic of Church-State Relations from the 1950s to 1980s**

Decade \ Response	Yes	No	C/R or N/S ¹
The 1930s	--	--	--
The 1940s	--	1	1
The 1950s	2	1	1
The 1960s	1	--	--
The 1970s	1	--	--
Total	4	2	2

Note: ¹: C/R – Cannot Remember; N/S: Not Sure.

Table 7

**Survey of Sermons of Sunday Worship of Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church
on the Topic of Church-State Relations from the 1950s to 1980s**

Decade \ Response	Yes	No	C/R or N/S¹
The 1930s	--	1	--
The 1940s	--	--	--
The 1950s	--	2	2
The 1960s	--	3	1
The 1970s	--	4	--
Total	--	10	3

Note: ¹: C/R – Cannot Remember; N/S: Not Sure.

Table 8

Themes of Sunday Worship Service of Three Largest Baptist Churches 1950-1984

Theme \ Church	Hong Kong Baptist Church¹	Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church²	Kowloon City Baptist Church³
Adult		√	√
Annual Meeting			√
Baptist College			√
Baptist Hospital			√
Baptist World Alliance			√
Benevolent Ministry	√	√	
Bible Study	√		
Brotherhood			√
Children	√	√	
Christianised Family		√	√
Christmas	√	√	√
College Students	√		
Consecration		√	
Easter	√	√	√
Education	√	√	√
Elderly	√	√	√
Evangelism	√	√	√
Fellowship	√		√
Global Prayer	√		√
Graduation Day			√
Literary Ministry	√	√	
Medical Ministry		√	√
Mother's Day	√		
New Year		√	
Overseas Mission of the Baptist Convention		√	
Palm Tree		√	
Praying for Hong Kong	√		
Sacred/Church Music	√	√	√
Stewardship		√	√
Sunday School	√	√	√
Teenagers'	√		√

Thanksgiving	√	√	√
The Baptist Association/ Convention of Hong Kong	√	√	√
The Lord's Supper	√	√	√
Theological Education	√	√	√
Women's	√	√	√
Year-ending			√
Youth		√	√

Note: ¹: Data taken from *Hong Kong Baptist Church Weekly and Monthly Binder 1954, 1958, 1959, 1965, 1975, and 1984*.

²: Data taken from *Tsim Sha Tsui Baptist Church Weekly 1950, 1953, 1954, 1957, 1960, 1961, 1964, 1969, 1973, 1975, and 1976*. There was no additional theme from 1976 to 1984.

³: Data taken from *Kowloon City Baptist Church Sunday Weekly Binder 1953, 1963, 1971, 1973, and 1983*. There was no additional theme in 1984.

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